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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 12, 16 June 1980



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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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THE GUIDE--COMRADE CAI HESIN [5591 0735 2773]

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 inside front cover

[Woodcut by Wang Wei [3769 3555]]

THE
GUIDE



"Down with
Foreign
Powers!"

"[Down
with]
Warlords!"

"The Whole
World..."

ANOTHER STUDY OF THE BASIC ECONOMIC LAW OF SOCIALISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 2-18

[Article by Wu Jiang [0702 3068]]

[Text] The History of the Discussion

1. In 1952 Stalin put forward the basic economic law of socialism in his work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." Nowadays most Marxist economists agree that this is a great contribution to Marxist economic science. This law did not come about easily. That is to say, getting to know it involved a certain process of cognition. Although on various occasions Marx, Engels and Lenin had hinted at the existence of such a law, from the 1920's theoretical circles in the Soviet Union had a prolonged debate on the existence of an objective basic economic law for a socialist society as well as on what was the basic economic law of socialism. At that time most economists did not acknowledge the objectivity of economic laws. They even believed that economic laws existed only in a society without organization, that as soon as capitalism died out economic laws would also die out, and then man's objective will would replace economic laws. They therefore considered the role of the subjective factors--the party and the state--in terms of absolutes and believed that "a socialist state with planning is the only source of national economic movement and development." By the 1930's, although people acknowledged the existence of economic laws under the socialist system, the content of the laws was still taken as man's subjective will, and policies and laws were confused. Furthermore, people did not acknowledge that there was an objective basic economic law for a socialist society. Some said that, if people were bent on discovering a basic economic law of socialism, then that law was actually the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the late 1940's and early 1950's academic circles in the Soviet Union discussed this problem. Stalin himself joined the discussion and wrote his conclusive ideas (namely, the book "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR"). Stalin pointed out that economic laws had the property of objectivity and that the laws for a socialist society were no exception. He also said that every society could have only one basic economic law, which determined all the main aspects and

main processes of development of that society's production. Stalin believed that the concept of such a basic economic law most appropriate to capitalism was the law of surplus value, and modern capitalism aimed at getting maximum profits. Based on the relevant expositions of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the basic economic law of socialism, Stalin explained this law as follows: "The securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly increasing material and cultural needs of the whole society, through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher technology."

2. Needless to say, categorically pointing out the existence of a basic economic law in a socialist society and showing the objectivity of economic laws under the condition of socialism were of enormous significance to the economic theory and economic practice of socialism. After Stalin's death, Khrushchev completely negated Stalin and the Soviet Union's economic circles and reassessed Stalin's economic theory. Some people criticized Stalin's expositions on the basic economic law of socialism for placing consumption and not production in the prime position. Later some people simply completely negated this theory of Stalin's, saying that Stalin had coined the concept of the basic economic law of socialism out of the void just to show his tremendous contribution to Marxism. But since the 1960's an increasing number of people have criticized this viewpoint which negates the basic economic law and have affirmed that Stalin's viewpoint on this law is correct. But there have been arguments about the form of expression of the aim of production. Some put it as "most fully satisfying people's continuously increasing material and cultural needs," and some as "securing the full welfare and free, all-round development of the whole society and all its members." Doubtlessly, it is necessary to discuss in various ways the law itself (as well as the forms of expression of this law). Not only is this necessary today, but it will be necessary in the future, too.

3. The publication of "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" was awarded great attention by our people and party. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his article mourning Stalin's death that Stalin had contributed the theory on the basic economic law of socialism. The theory of this law played an important guiding role when our party formulated the first and second five-year plans. Comrade Zhou Enlai clearly pointed out in his report on the work of the government at the first session of the First NPC: "The sole aim of the socialist economy is to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs." This law was later reflected in the general program of the party constitution adopted at the eighth congress of our party. The program contained the following: "The basic aim of all the party's work is to satisfy to the greatest extent the people's needs in their material and cultural life. Therefore, on the basis of the development of production, the people's livelihood must be gradually and continually improved, and this is also a necessary condition for enhancing the people's enthusiasm for production." It should be said that this was a very important guiding ideology in the

new historical stage of our party. However, this paragraph disappeared in the subsequent general programs of the party constitution.

4. Our country's economic circles have already had three discussions of a relatively large scale, including the current one, on the basic economic law of socialism. The first discussion, which took place from 1953 to 1955, was centered mainly around the role which the law would play during our country's transition period. That discussion was conspicuously of the nature of a theoretical study and exploration. The second discussion deserves special attention. It took place in 1961, when our country's national economy was suffering from a setback and was undergoing a process of arduous readjustment. Serious problems were facing us. We were being penalized for violating objective economic laws. Theoretical work should not have circumvented these grave practical problems. However, apart from practical readjustment measures taken to amend the errors in economic work, theory was timidly used in its own pure and abstract form merely to reflect the existence of the problems. The issues put forward for discussion at that time were centered mainly around the aim of social production. They included: Should the study of the basic economic law of socialism start with studying the aim of production or with analyzing basic economic contradictions? Was the aim of socialist production an objective economic category or a category of subjective consciousness? Was the aim of socialist production the basic motive force of the development of social economic life? And so on.

5. The third discussion is the current one, beginning in October last year. This discussion is taking place just when our country's national economy is again suffering another setback and is in a new period of readjustment and restructuring. In addition, the discussion is again centered around the aim of production. Instead of saying that this is a coincidence of history, we should rather say that this reflects the continuity of problems in history. Therefore, the problem can be said to be a historical one. Of course, what is more important, this demonstrates that the problem of the aim of social production is a fundamental one in our economic activities and therefore will often reoccur. The discussion was set off after Comrade Ye Jianying gave an important speech on behalf of the party Central Committee at the 30th anniversary of National Day. The subject of discussion was the 30 years of economic practice. Experience over the past 30 years is to be conscientiously summed up in planning for the next 20 years. The theoretical task of this discussion is different from that of the second discussion. The second discussion could not take place in an abstract theoretical form and may be suspected of having been "empty talk." In contrast, from the start the current one has been closely linked to the important real problems of economic construction which have existed for many years. Vigorous attempts have been made to explain these problems theoretically. This is a serious and active attitude. These problems include: Why is it that economic planning did not proceed from the people's consumption needs but instead proceeded from the growth targets for certain categories of principal

heavy industrial products such as iron and steel? Why is that accumulation and consumption have been disproportionate for long periods of time, and the long-existing livelihood problems of the people in the urban areas and the countryside have not been duly solved? Why has the capital construction front always been made increasingly extensive? Why is it that, although for more than 20 years we have been talking about observing the order of priority of "agriculture, light industry, heavy industry," now we are still observing the order of "heavy industry, light industry, agriculture"? Why is heavy industry unable to serve agriculture and light industry satisfactorily? Why are many enterprises responsible to the higher authorities alone, not to the consumers, so that they carry out production blindly? Why is it that, although overall our country's national economic growth rate is not slow, the supply of consumer goods still cannot proportionately satisfy the people's needs? In a word, what causes have prevented our socialist production from fulfilling its own aim? Apart from the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," what kinds of thoughts and deeds have been playing a dominant role?

6. Obviously, the problem put forward here is not one of economic planning alone, nor is it one of the leadership method or of the management system alone. It involves the basic nature and basic aim of socialist production. In the final analysis, the problem put forward here is whether or not we act according to objective economic laws, in particular the basic economic law of socialism; what we understand by the basic economic law of socialism; whether or not we acknowledge it, and whether we acknowledge it verbally or in practice.

7. After briefly looking back and giving simple explanations as above, we can now present some views on the problems put forward above. There is an argument, or we can call it a concern, that to put forward this problem now may lead the masses to inappropriately go after livelihood needs to an extent incompatible with the current output level. I think that from our analysis below anyone can find a fair and appropriate answer to this question. Following the logic of objective economic life itself, our study must start from the issue of the aim of social production.

On the Aim of Social Production

8. I think that one view put forward in the discussion in 1961 is correct, namely, that studying the basic economic law of any social formation must proceed from studying the objective aim of social production. The aim of production in a certain society determines the main content of the basic economic law of that society. If we can discover the aim of social production of a particular social economic formation (obviously, discovering the aim of social production necessitates examining the mode of social production and analyzing the basic economic contradictions), this is tantamount to having discovered the motive force behind the development of this social formation. Then we have established a

reliable basis on which to study the basic economic law of the particular social formation. When Stalin put forward the basic economic law of socialism, his stress was on defining the aim of socialist production.

9. Is there a general aim of production? The answer is yes. Marx said that a society could not stop consumption, and likewise it could not stop production. "Without production there will be no consumption, but without consumption there will not be any production either, because then production will be aimless." ("Introduction," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 12, p 741) Such a general relation between production and consumption, like the inevitability of allocating social labor according to certain proportions, exists in all societies, whether they be capitalist or socialist.

10. But here it has only been pointed out that production is the means and consumption the end. As Marx said, this is just an "abstraction" and a "common stipulation" of production in all eras. It does not tell us what kinds of production relations will result from what kinds of production. A society in which man lives and carries out activities invariably is one dominated by some specific production relations and mode of production. Different relations of social production, which are mainly various systems of ownership of the means of production, determine the different aims of social production. That is to say, when the means of production are in the hands of a certain class or social group, then social production will be subordinate to the requirements of the material benefits of that class or social group. This is what we call the aim of social production. The aim of social production arising in this way is the most essential thing in the interpersonal relations of production. It exists objectively as an objective economic category, and its existence is independent of man's will.

11. Under the capitalist mode of production the means of production are owned by the capitalists, and the workers are just sellers of labor. As a result of such production relations, the aim of capitalist production can only be the production of profits and the serving of the material benefits of the capitalist groups; it cannot be anything else. Marx said: "The aim of capital is to produce profits, not to satisfy needs." ("Das Kapital," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, Book III, p 285) "The invariable aim of capitalist production is to use the minimum of prepaid capital to produce the maximum quantity of surplus value or surplus products," and the worker himself "is only a means of production, not the end itself, nor is he the aim of production." ("The Theory of Surplus Value," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Book II, p 625) All the activities of the capitalists, what the capitalist enterprises produce or do not produce, an increase or decrease in the output of a certain product--all these vary according to the surplus value or the profits. Therefore, the aim of capitalist production is the overall regulator of capitalist production. It inevitably will lead to the antagonistic contradiction between expanded production and relatively narrow consumption. This is a direct cause of periodic crises.

12. Of course, a general relation between production and consumption as well as interactions between them do exist in the capitalist system. All production depends for its existence upon consumption. No production can exist without consumption, and this is also true of capitalist production, since only consumption can enable the products produced to become real products. In addition, only consumption can generate people's renewed needs. It is for this reason that capitalists cannot help being enthusiastic about surveying market conditions and the composition of consumption. This is even more true of modern capitalism. To conduct market research or market forecasts on a global scale, capitalists are often willing to invest huge sums. At the same time, capitalism also creates its own consumption. Sometimes it can even create a considerably high level of consumption. Some more sophisticated capitalists even declare that they want to "improve" the workers' livelihood, saying, "Make the cake larger." Some call themselves "welfare states." But for the capitalists the purpose of all this is to insure profits, to insure maximum profits, or to stabilize a high profit rate. In the final analysis, consumption, as a general "aim" of production, is still a means for the capitalists. Therefore, the apparently considerably high level of consumption attained by modern capitalism (compared with backward countries) still cannot help remove the antagonistic contradiction between the expansion of production and the relative inadequacy of the consumption base. (We can clearly see this point by observing various anomalies of the capitalist market and its crises.) This high level of consumption will only serve to perpetuate and aggravate the basis of such a contradiction.

13. Conditions are completely different under the socialist mode of production. Socialism replaces capitalism. Its essential characteristics are replacing the private ownership of the means of production by public ownership, practicing the method of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work" and eliminating the exploitation of man by man. Due to the socialist production relations, the aim of social production can only be the satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of all members of society, not anything else. All other aims are incompatible with the socialist nature of production. Engels said that, after the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, social production will "carry out social, planned adjustment of production according to the needs of the whole society and all its members." Then, "through social production all members of society can enjoy a rich and increasingly plentiful material life. Not only can this be insured; in addition, the full and free development and use of their physical and mental abilities can also be insured." ("Anti-Dühring," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, pp 304, 307) The "Manifesto of the Communist Party" says: "in bourgeois society, human labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor. In communist society, accumulated labor is but a means to widen, to enrich and to promote the life of the laborer." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 481) Lenin also clearly said that after the abolition of private

...of the means of production and establishment of public ownership would be the replacement of capitalist production of commodities by the conscious organization of the production of products by society, or, in other words, with the object of insuring the full well-being and growth of human employment of all its members." ("Draft Program of the Bureau of the Communist Party," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol. 4, p. 713) All enterprises in the socialist economy, what the enterprise will or will not produce, the increase or decrease in the output of a certain product--all these vary with the needs of society and the country. The essential feature of the socialist economy can only be the socialist production, namely, satisfying to the greatest extent the entire country's constantly growing material and cultural needs.

2. The contradiction between expanded production and limited purchasing power--or relatively narrow consumption--is a direct representation of the basic contradiction in capitalism between the social character of production and the capitalists' private possession of the means of production. Under capitalism, because the aim of production is to satisfy the capitalist's needs, the development of production will be directly dependent on the satisfaction of the capitalist's needs. A new contradiction then is thus generated, namely, that between the people's constantly growing needs and the current output level. This contradiction presses forward the continual growth and perfection of social production. At the same time, it serves as a motive force for the development of production. The content of the basic economic law of socialism is manifested mainly in this contradiction between production and needs. On the basis of the development of production, the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the people and the means are gradually satisfied. Such needs conversely promote the development of production, enabling production to advance in rapid growth. This is the basic trend of the whole economic development in a socialist society.

3. What is the superiority of socialism? This basic trend of economic development shows the indisputable superiority of socialism.

4. Some originally economically backward countries have been victorious in socialist revolution and have taken the road of socialist development. For historical reasons, for a considerable period of time the level of economic development and consumption of these countries will continue to lag behind or even far behind those of developed capitalist countries. That is a fact. But things are different in nature. When we view problems we must look at the essence. The focus of attention should be the essential interpersonal relations in production. Social development and economic growth depend on many factors, but they ultimately depend on what the aim of social production is as determined by society and what the tasks of production are--whether production serves the needs of the people or of a minority of exploiters.

2. In Stalin's theory on the basic economic law of socialism stresses the aim of socialist production. Some people criticize him for placing consumption instead of production in the prime position. After prolonged debates, most economists (including some who are prejudiced against Stalin) now believe that such criticism and censure is untenable. Nevertheless, we feel that we should explain the following two points about this problem.

13. First, we are discussing here the aim of socialist production and the means to achieve this aim, not whether production or consumption should assume the prime position. To say which one is of prime importance is an ideological way of talking about the relations between two different realms, production and consumption, and is therefore incorrect. As Stalin pointed out: "In fact, our issue here is not that consumption assumes the prime position. The issue is that socialist production is subordinate to its principal aim--insuring the maximum satisfaction of the whole society's constantly increasing material and cultural needs."

14. Second, Marx said: "Production and consumption are the two elements of any act," and "in this process production is the actual starting point and is therefore also the element in the dominant position." ("Introduction," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 12, p 744) That is to say, although consumption will naturally react upon production and generate new needs, production is actually the starting point of the cyclical reproduction process. Production plays a dominant role in this process. In our case, the role of production as a "means" is stressed. That is to say, to achieve the aim of socialist production, namely, to fully satisfy the people's material and cultural needs, there must be an objective condition, or we can call it an objective means, which is to do a good job of social production itself and to continually develop socialist production. The people's material and cultural needs can be gradually and continually satisfied only on the basis of continually developing production (perfecting the "means"). If a good means is lacking and if we forget to continually enhance and perfect socialist production on the basis of higher technology, then even the best aim will become void. This relation between "the end" and "the means" is not extraneous to the basic economic law of socialism. It is inherent in this law and required by this law. The goal of our country's four modernizations has been set according to the whole requirement of the basic economic law of socialism.

15. Therefore, we think that a certain view is incorrect, namely, taking only the production of consumer goods as the area where the basic economic law plays its role and excluding accumulation from that area. Actually, the basic economic law plays its role not only in the production of products of the second category, namely, consumer goods, and in consumption. It also plays its role in the production of products of the first category, namely, the means of production, and in accumulation. It plays its role in the whole process of producing the overall social products and

needs, the people's livelihood and welfare needs, including the needs of material life and cultural life. Production is for the purpose of satisfying man's needs. Our production must utilize the means of production, but the consumption of production is ultimately for the purpose of satisfying man's livelihood needs. According to Stalin's generalization, production is to satisfy man and his needs. This is not the so-called algebraic "consumption" viewpoint. This is precisely the aim and also the motive force of socialist production. If the consumption in production and the needs for expanded production are also taken as "aims," then what will be the state of affairs? Then effectively the aim of production will be production itself, and this is production for production's sake. Of course, this is a distinction in a limited sense only, because according to long-term implications, production itself is ultimately also consumption. But to confuse the aim with the means on account of this is incorrect. We will see below the evils of such confusion.

21. In the past we put forward the slogan "Develop the economy and insure supplies." Can we use this brief slogan to replace our foregoing discourse on the basic economic law of socialism? No. Initially put forward in 1942, the slogan "Develop the economy and insure supplies" does not concern the aim of socialist production and does not give expression to the contradiction between production and consumption peculiar to socialism. That slogan means that during wartime we had to rely on developing the economy (and not simply rely on fiscal means) to solve "the problems of supplying funds for the living and operating expenses of tens of thousands of troops and civilian personnel, in other words, the problem of supplying funds for waging the war." ("Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 846) Therefore, this slogan obviously is unsuitable for expressing the basic economic law of socialism.

22. Then what are included in the material and cultural needs of the whole society or man? (Marx explains social needs as "the socially developed needs of man.") In the general sense, currently such needs can be categorized as follows: The first category includes 1) individual needs (the individual's and his family's constantly growing livelihood needs, mostly satisfied by individual labor); and 2) society's public needs (culture and education, medical and health services, entertainment, the welfare of enterprises and collectives, social relief and other facilities, as well as all livelihood service trades and so on). The second category is the expenses of the state machinery, including 3) the state's administrative and management expenses and 4) national defense expenditures. The technical military equipment used for national defense also forms the means of subsistence in the form of final products. It must be clarified that, as an economic category, "needs" refers to the first category. It should be said that this is the very aim of production. The second category serves the first. It is a deduction from the consumption funds. It is used for creating a stable, peaceful and orderly work and living environment. The state also shoulders the

Expenditure for the reproduction and growing production. Therefore, this expenditure will be a general expenditure for insuring the "needs." The commodity reproduction expenditure will cease to exist in the future (according to the policy of the new international conditions also permit). And the first category of needs will exist forever with mankind.

As for the distribution among the various consumption funds, if more is spent on item 1 of the first category, then less will be spent on item 1. If more is spent on the second category, then less will be available for the first category, and vice versa. This is a contradiction. It is a very important one among the people, too. In the use of the consumption funds, the contradiction between item 1 and item 2 deserves our attention, and the contradiction between the first and second categories deserves our attention from us. As a deduction from the consumption funds, the second category is necessary. But the proportion of the deduction must be considered on the basis of the level of the consumption funds. If the expenditure on the second category is proportionately too large, so that it replaces the needs of the first category, then economic development and the improvement of the people's livelihood inevitably will be seriously affected. Therefore, we need to make a good study of how to handle the relationship between the first and second categories in the total value of consumption.

We must satisfy the people's constantly growing material and cultural needs. The basic method and sole guarantee is to continually advance and perfect socialist production. There is no other way. We can gradually improve the people's livelihood only on the basis of developing production, and our requirements cannot be too high or hasty. Particularly since our country's economy is still very backward at present, raising the level of livelihood consumption must correspond to a certain level of development of production. Surpassing a certain level of development of production and going after high consumption levels inevitably will result in wasting production, so that the material foundation for raising the level of livelihood consumption will be damaged. At present some developing countries' national education, particularly their youth education, is faced with an important problem of preventing the generation of a so-called "premature viewpoint and requirement of consumption." Under the influence of the developed countries' consumption levels, such a requirement is often easily generated among some young people in the developing countries. (One other problem is the prevention of excessive population growth.) Shortly after the October Revolution, Lenin said: "When we are assailed with new demands from all sides, we say that as it should be, that is just what socialism means, when each wants to improve his condition and all want to enjoy the benefits of life. But our country is very poor, and it is impossible just now to satisfy all demands; that is why it is so difficult to build the new edifice in the midst of disruption." ("Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Soldiers' and Red Army Deputies," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol. 27, p. 497). What should be added here is that disruption is not caused

only by the enemies. Sometimes during the construction process some disturbance is caused by our own mistakes. In the latter situation it is particularly important and also particularly difficult to alter the sentiments of the masses (make them consciously restrain their desire for consumption) through education. However, if we clearly explain the situation to the masses and conscientiously sum up experience, the masses will consider the overall situation and overcome the difficulty with one heart.

23. Nevertheless, however difficult the conditions are, we communists have a responsibility to earnestly and competently organize the people's economic life. Socialist laborers naturally should not be governed by "the narrow viewpoint of calculating with the heartlessness of a Shylock whether one has not worked half an hour more than someone else, whether one is not getting less pay than someone else." ("The State and Revolution," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 435) They should consider the state's difficulties and work selflessly. However, the state and its leaders must have concern for the laborers' livelihood. If there are more hardships in the livelihood of the masses, we should have more concern for improving their livelihood, and this should be taken as the starting point of all our work. Lenin said: "Concern for individual interests can improve production." ("The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 39) This is a truth. The development of production and improving the people's livelihood must be considered together. Under certain special conditions, in view of some important and urgent production tasks, it is necessary to demand some limitations or some limited sacrifice of livelihood. (Of course, satisfying the minimum livelihood needs must be insured; otherwise, no production can be carried out.) However, under general conditions, in the overall national construction and in the overall national economic planning, we cannot think that production planning and livelihood planning can only proceed in different orders. The two must be considered simultaneously, so that they proceed proportionately and in harmony. Our First Five-Year Plan put forward growth targets for production and the people's consumption at the same time and fixed an appropriate proportion between the two. For example, the plan specified a 33-percent growth in 5 years for the workers' average wages (the real growth being 33.5 percent) and a 30-percent growth in 5 years for the peasants' total income. Likewise, the Second Five-Year Plan specified a 25 to 30-percent growth in 5 years for the workers' average wages and an equal growth rate for the peasants' income. It is certain that if the Second Five-Year Plan had not been disrupted and had been carried out steadily these targets for improving the livelihood of the workers, the peasants and the laboring masses could definitely have been achieved. We should not forget such a successful experience.

24. In national economic planning, simultaneously planning production and livelihood is called duly handling the relations between accumulation and consumption. The relations between accumulation and consumption are the simultaneous allocation of the national income into two parts: one part

...on expanding reproduction and accumulating material reserves and expanding consumption (accumulation) and the other part for satisfying individuals' and nations' needs, as well as the achievement of a rational proportion between them. What we mean by rational is that the continual growth of production as well as the corresponding, gradual improvement of the people's life should not be simultaneously insured, and that the collective, long-term interests must be integrated with the individual, immediate interests. This is a decisive condition for satisfactorily planning the whole socialist economy, enabling the national economy to develop steadily and making social reproduction to proceed smoothly. Whether our economic work follows the basic economic law of socialism and whether it deviates from the aim of socialist production depends to a very great extent on how the proportional relationship between accumulation and consumption is handled. Since the founding of the People's Republic our country's national economy has undergone two major readjustments, the focus of each being on readjusting the proportional relationship between accumulation and consumption. We should pay great attention to this point.

27. Almost without exception, in socialist countries the relation between accumulation and consumption is a very acute problem in economic leadership work. Socialism provides wide possibilities for the development of production, and accumulation is the source of expanded reproduction and is "industry's most important progressive function" (Engels). Everybody has the subjective desire to rapidly boost production. Therefore, people divert the largest possible portion of the national income for accumulation. (With a given effectiveness of production and a given utilization ratio of resources and equipment, the growth rate of production depends on the proportion of accumulation in the national income. Therefore, accumulation and the rate of production are closely related.) In addition, because the socialist economy is centralized and planned and because the state exercises unified leadership over the economy, it is very easy to control the proportion of accumulation in the national income. Capitalism is different. The spontaneity, the direct operation of market laws, crises and other factors in capitalism very often limit the deliberate raising of the amount of accumulation. In times of crises and economic depression, accumulation may even fall behind the depreciation of fixed assets.

28. Socialism can avoid the sort of waste that occurs in capitalism, saving materialized labor and human labor for expanded reproduction. It can achieve higher accumulation rates through planning. This is a characteristic and merit of socialism, but it is also where errors most easily occur. As early as the 1950's our country's knowledgeable leaders in economic work gave a timely warning: special caution should be exercised in raising the proportion of accumulation in the national income. How to handle the relationship between consumption and accumulation to achieve a balanced proportion, what is the attainable accumulation rate in a certain time period, how to manage and use accumulation funds, and so on--these are currently problems of prime importance in our economic life.

They are now matters of interest to all (not only to economic workers or experts in economic theory). Chen Boda proposed that accumulation reach a rate of 60 percent. This was sheer nonsense. Let us look at some facts: According to information supplied by foreign economists, socialist countries generally use a quarter or one-fifth of their national income for accumulation; that is, the accumulation rate is generally 25 or 20 percent. Some countries attain an accumulation rate of over 30 percent in certain time periods. In 13 of the 26 years between 1953 and 1978, our country's accumulation was over 30 percent. The highest figure was 43.8 percent (in 1959). In 3 of those years the accumulation rate was lower than 20 percent. Overall, in 30 years of our country's history, when the accumulation rate exceeded 30 or 35 percent the rate of growth of the national income dropped, the rate of growth of the state's fiscal revenue dropped, labor productivity fell, economic effects were poor and, consequently, the improvement of the people's livelihood was affected. Conversely, when the accumulation rate was not above 25 percent, the growth rates of the national income and fiscal revenue were higher, labor productivity rose more rapidly, economic results were good and the people's livelihood enjoyed more improvement. Of course, other causes were partly responsible for the differences between these two kinds of results (such as management problems and so on). But the main factor at work was the objective internal relation between accumulation and consumption.

31. On the basis of 30 years of experience, we may say that to achieve a faster development on our poor and backward foundation, and to achieve the targets of the four modernizations, it is necessary to pay great attention to accumulation and to maintain a relatively high accumulation level. But in view of our country's conditions, such as having a large population, a weak foundation, a low per capita national income and a poor living standard for the people, in a certain period of time in the future our country's accumulation rate should generally and appropriately be around 25 percent of the national income, and the 30-percent limit should not be easily exceeded. Only by adopting an appropriate accumulation rate and concentrating efforts to improve economic effects can we secure due control over the situation.

32. Some comrades, enthusiastic about one-sidedly effecting a "high accumulation rate" in the past, have now changed their tune and say that no one knows what the ideal accumulation rate should be. Actually, they imply that "approximately 25 percent" is groundless. This is incorrect. We put forward such a numerical limit, suited to the present situation, on the basis of both positive and negative experience over the past 30 years and on the basis of real data from various periods. What is more important, we considered various factors in the national economy which impose constraints on accumulation. For example: 1) Accumulation is constrained by the rate of growth in the expenditure of national income. The rate of growth of accumulation funds cannot exceed the rate of growth in the expenditure of national income. In the 26 years between 1953 and 1978 our country's expenditure of national income (not adjusted

the gross domestic product (in the case of accumulation) increased by an average of 10.5 percent a year, but accumulation funds increased by an average of 10.5 percent a year, obviously exceeding the limit. Therefore, inevitably consumption funds were displaced. 2) Accumulation is restricted by the capability for supplying the means of production. Accumulation funds must be accompanied by corresponding quantities of raw materials and other materials, fuel, equipment, and so on. In other words, there must not only be "compensation in value," but there must also be "compensation in material," and we must not leave "gaps" in various aspects. 3) The most basic constraint is the people's current needs. Production is the prerequisite of consumption. To raise the level of consumption there must be expanded reproduction, and to achieve this there must be substantial accumulation. Therefore, under general conditions the rate of increase in consumption cannot exceed the rate of development of production and the increase in labor productivity. The two rates cannot even be equal. The latter rate must be higher than the former. But production is for the sake of consumption. In a certain period the state's financial and material resources are fixed and limited. Therefore, in determining the proportion between accumulation and consumption we must proceed from the people's current needs and consider the factor of population growth. That is to say, in the first place we must determine the annual rate of growth of the people's basic means of subsistence and duly plan for the people's clothing, food, housing, transport and goods for daily use. Then we compute the growth rates for agriculture and light industry necessary to cope with such growth, the growth rate of heavy industry which serves agriculture and light industry, as well as the proportional relationships within heavy industry. To achieve this, and to satisfy the prerequisite conditions for production, we must conscientiously and competently plan for the fuel and motive power industry and the communications and transport industry, achieving unified equilibrium. Under our country's present conditions, this is a question that merits primary consideration in readjusting the proportional relationships. It can be said with good grounds that the proportional relationship between accumulation and consumption, determined according to such a summation and procedure, is suited to the requirements of the basic economic law. Such planning does not involve the question of whether or not heavy industry is important, and it certainly is not a question of whether developing heavy industry is desirable. Rather, it is for the purpose of solving the problem of how we can best deal with the proportional relationship and rate of development for the entire national economy, including those for heavy industry. The basic starting point for all this is that our consideration of the amount of accumulation must proceed from the need to gradually improve the people's living standard. Under all conditions this will be an invariable principle. Suppose that production or expanded reproduction or accumulation is carried out without regard to the people's current livelihood needs and the factor of population growth, without insuring the gradual enhancement of the people's needs but, on the contrary, requiring the lowering of the people's needs. Then surely such production will not have a good future and will err.

23. Some people believe that, if we can only keep the people's consumption level from falling, then the accumulation rate can be continually raised (actually, this means that the scale of capital construction can be continually expanded). Many years' practice has proved that this viewpoint is inappropriate. First, under the condition that livelihood consumption does not expand and increase correspondingly but simply remains constant, the continual raising of the accumulation rate and continual expansion of the scale of capital construction is divorced from reality and is dangerous (though the increase in accumulation partly depends on the consumption of production). Second, to raise the accumulation rate, in particular to expand capital construction, we must not just consider the state's corresponding financial and material resources. In addition, in allocating such resources we must follow a rational procedure and must first insure the production of the minimally required means of subsistence; then we must insure the production of the necessary means of production; finally we can use the remaining portion for capital construction. This is what we call the principle of "assigning priority to production over capital construction" or "assigning priority to simple reproduction over expanded reproduction." This is mainly for the sake of insuring the satisfaction of the people's minimal livelihood needs, as well as avoiding inappropriate expansion of the scale of capital construction, which may displace the production of goods necessary for the people's livelihood. At certain times in the past we went against the principle that the scale of national construction must correspond to the state's financial and material resources, as well as the principle of "assigning priority to production over capital construction." Very often, whenever the economic situation was a bit better, we wanted to get going and go all out. For example, after the Great Leap Forward, between 1963 and 1965, the 3 years of readjustment (during those 3 years the average accumulation rate fell to 22.7 percent) enabled the economic situation to become slightly better. In 1966, the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan period, the accumulation rate was abruptly increased to over 30 percent without scientific computation. During the 3 years between 1967 and 1969, because of the national chaos and the stopping of production at many factories, the accumulation rate was forced to drop to below 23 percent. But in 1970 it again abruptly rose to 32.9 percent. In subsequent years the accumulation rate was always over 30 percent. Consequently, the contradiction between accumulation and consumption was again aggravated. Capital construction displaced both livelihood and production. In particular, the effectiveness of accumulation and that of capital construction investment continually declined. According to investigations by the departments concerned, in recent years it has taken an average of 10 years for large and medium-scale construction projects to be completed and put into production. This is double the time needed during the First Five-Year Plan period. The losses caused are alarming. We say that the viewpoint mentioned at the start of this paragraph is inappropriate, because it provides grounds for such practice.

Does the Phenomenon of "Production for Production's Sake" Exist in Socialism?

Q. The entire discussion about the basic economic law of socialism puts forward an issue which attracts great attention; that is, it points out that the phenomenon of "production for its own sake" exists among us. Is "production for production's sake" possible in socialism? If this phenomenon does exist, what is its nature? How is it different from "production for production's sake" under capitalism? What are its causes? Is it the subject of three questions:

1) When Marx analyzed the conversion of surplus value into capital in volume 1, chapter 22 of "Das Kapital," he said that the capitalist's motivation was "the fanatical pursuit of the growth in value. The capitalist ruthlessly forces the human race to produce for production's sake. He thus forces the development of the productive forces of society and creates the material conditions for production." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 21, p. 649) Lenin also repeatedly mentioned this phenomenon in analyzing capitalist production. For example, in his works "A Critique of Economic Romanticism" and "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," he pointed out that, compared with production in past eras, the characteristic of capitalist production was the priority given to the production of the means of production, but the trend toward expansion of production and the limited consumption of the people became increasingly contradictory. Lenin said: "It is really 'production for production's sake'—the expansion of production without a corresponding expansion of consumption." "It is the sort of contradiction that corresponds to the very nature of capitalism and to the other contradictions of this system of social economy. It is this expansion of production without a corresponding expansion of consumption that corresponds to the historical mission of capitalism and to its specific social structure: the former develops the productive forces of society; the latter rules out the utilization of these technical achievements by the mass of the population." ("The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol. 1, p. 35) Here two points merit attention: 1) Both Marx and Lenin pointed out that "production for production's sake" is a manifestation of the very nature of capitalist production, and in particular a manifestation of the "law of development of capital" that "fixed capital grows faster than variable capital." 2) They pointed out that, objectively, "production for production's sake" in capitalism led to great developments in society's productive forces. Marx even said: "These conditions alone can form the real basis of a higher form of society, a society in which the full and free development of every individual constitutes the ruling principle." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 23, p. 649) Lenin said that it was incorrect for Russia's socialists to fail to perceive the historical progressiveness of "production for production's sake" in capitalism.

36. Does the phenomenon of "production for production's sake" exist under socialism? In the book "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," Stalin criticized Yaroshenko's economic viewpoint as one of "production for production's sake." But this criticism did not involve the socialist economy itself. Stalin did not say that the phenomenon of "production for production's sake" existed in the socialist economy. Judging from the nature of the socialist economy and from the socio-economic system of socialism, it must be said that "production for production's sake" as it exists in capitalism does not and should not exist in the socialist economy. This is true, because the purpose of socialist production is not to seek profits but is aimed at satisfying the people's needs. Expanded reproduction in socialism does not encounter the contradiction between production and consumption like that occurring in capitalism and will not lead to the crisis of surplus output.

37. Socialism, according to its nature, does not generate economic crisis, but some sort of crisis may appear if there are major errors. Likewise, although according to its nature socialist production is not "production for its own sake," yet if it is not well controlled, in real life socialist production may exhibit a tendency presently called "production for production's sake." This tendency arises when, as a result of the violation of the objective basic economic law, the expansion of production fails to induce a corresponding expansion in consumption or even causes a certain degree of contraction in consumption. Here we are not contradicting ourselves. This tendency is an undeniable and objectively existing economic fact. Of course, the scope and extent of this tendency must be honestly and duly analyzed and assessed.

38. In a certain sense this tendency can be called "production for production's sake." In what main arenas is this tendency manifested? Judging from past situations, it is manifested mainly in various links, such as the distribution of the national income and the use of accumulation funds, as well as in their consequences. 1) After the First Five-Year Plan the portion of the national income used for accumulation was often too large. The accumulation rate frequently was too high (even in those years when the national income growth rate dropped markedly). A serious disproportion existed between accumulation and consumption. It has been said that the accumulation rate during the First Five-Year Plan period was appropriate. Subsequently, except in those years when we were forced to carry out readjustment, the accumulation rate rose continually. There were three peak periods: during the Great Leap Forward it was as high as around 40 percent; during the Great Cultural Revolution between 1970 and 1976 it was over 30 percent every year; and in 1978, after the smashing of the "gang of four," it was 36.6 percent. Such high accumulation rates not only displaced the people's indispensable material and cultural needs but sometimes also inevitably caused the people's real living standard to fall when the rate of growth of consumption funds was lower than the population growth rate. Guided by the policy of high accumulation rates, in the past 20 years (1958 to 1978) in our country

the ratio of investment in the two major categories--the means of production and the means of consumption--was 3.2 to 1. (In roughly the same period the ratio was 1.8 to 1 in Bulgaria and 1.6 to 1 in Yugoslavia.) In addition, accumulating the huge accumulation rate was high waste (of the equipment, of circulating funds, in capital construction, and so on). Large quantities of human resources and national wealth were wasted. 2) In the allocation of accumulation funds, productive accumulation was inadequately emphasized, and nonproductive accumulation (for building schools and cultural, educational and health facilities, for the better housing and so on) was neglected. The proportion of nonproductive accumulation in the total accumulation gradually diminished. Capital construction investment is split into productive and nonproductive investment. The proportion of nonproductive investment showed a declining trend. During the First Five-Year Plan period it was 28.3 percent. During the Second Five-Year Plan period it was 13.2 percent. During the 3-year adjustment period it was 17 percent. In the third and fourth five-year plans it was 10.6 percent and 13.4 percent, respectively. In addition, there was an "inverse proportion"--the higher the accumulation rate, the lower the proportion of nonproductive accumulation. For a long time people seemed to have a misconception that accumulation was equivalent to nonproductive accumulation. Productive items were neglected. As a result, it seemed as if with only "bone" and without "flesh" the human body could grow healthily. Therefore, for many years, in nearly all of our country's large, medium-sized and small cities and towns, there have been numerous problems concerning municipal construction and the people's livelihood. The supply of houses, communications facilities and services has been highly inadequate. Problems of shortages have been accumulating. These problems have adversely affected production. 3) In the allocation of productive accumulation, heavy industry was overwhelmingly emphasized. The cost was to sacrifice the normal development of agriculture and light industry, which are directly related to consumption. Heavy industry was developed in isolation. This can be clearly seen in the ratio in which the state allocated investments to industry and agriculture. In the past 20 years (1958 to 1978), of our country's total investment in industry and agriculture, the investment in heavy industry went up 75 percent, while light industry and agriculture together took up only 25 percent. In the 29 years between 1949 and 1978 our country's heavy industry grew 90 times, while light industry grew only 19 times. The difference is too great. 4) Within heavy industry, investment was primarily directed to the metallurgical and machine building industries. The marine power and transportation industries have remained backward for a long time. An excessively large portion of heavy industry served itself. Agriculture and light industry were conspicuously inadequately served. For instance, in 1978 our country's consumption of steel showed the following pattern: 29 percent of the steel was used for machine building, and 15.2 percent for agriculture and the maintenance and repair of agricultural machinery, and an even smaller proportion, 11.7 percent, for the light industry market. Of course, we remember that heavy industry itself also produces a portion of daily consumer goods to satisfy market demands.

In addition, heavy industry also includes a portion of military industry, part of whose capacity can produce civilian products. This part has not been utilized in the past. 5) Apart from problems concerning the distribution and use of the national income, "production for production's sake" also involves certain problems concerning national economic planning and management. Our planning system and method goes vertically from top to bottom without regard to the horizontal relationship between the enterprises and market demand. Many anomalous phenomena result. Many enterprises blindly produce unsatisfactory products. More production results in greater overstocking. There are "idle industries" whose products find no markets. There are also "duplicated industries" whose productive capacity exceeds current needs for their products. Some industries carry out production solely for the sake of formalism and winning undeserved reputation or for the sake of propaganda, or they even carry out wasteful production for political needs or to realize certain political propaganda aims which violate economic laws. All these operate under the banner of a "planned economy." Therefore, people sometimes describe such "production for production's sake" as "production for planning's sake." (Here "planning" naturally refers to that which is divorced from social needs.) These situations damage the reputation of the planned economy.

39. How should we evaluate such a phenomenon of "production for production's sake" in socialist production? Here, of course, the principle of one divides into two applies. On the one hand, the achievements in developing society's productive forces should be affirmed. For example, judging from the overall national economic planning, "taking steel as the key link" and the excessive investment in the machine building industry have adversely affected the balanced development of the overall national economy. However, we can, after all, produce over 30 million tons of steel annually, and we possess considerably more than 2 million lathes. Since liberation, over 300,000 industrial and communications enterprises have been set up in the entire country, and the newly added fixed assets have reached a value of over 400 billion yuan. We have established our own industrial base. We must say that these technical achievements provide the necessary material foundation for modernizing our country's national economy and improving the people's welfare. It must be further realized that bringing the role of the existing enterprises into play and tapping their potentials (such potentials are very great; for instance, a vast capacity for lathe production remains idle) are an important means of and an important link in our country's current development of the national economy and the launching of the four modernizations construction. "Tapping potentials must be given priority over new construction." Inadequately understanding this point is incorrect and will lead to errors. During the 3 years since the "gang of four" were crushed the development of production, particularly the production of sources of energy, has enjoyed considerable success. Compared with 1976, coal output in 1978 increased by 135 million tons, petroleum by 17 million tons, electric power by 53 billion kilowatt-hours and steel by 11.32 million tons. Of course, such development is of the nature of a recovery, and the

development itself has met with problems. For instance, a grave imbalance exists in the development of coal, which is presently our country's principal source of energy. In any case, it is incorrect to fail to see the achievements in the development of the productive forces.

At the same time, on the other hand, we must admit that the enormous success in producing steel involved an excessively high cost. If the evils mentioned above had not occurred, our success would have been much greater, even prodigious. For example, if not for the major evils, our steel output would certainly have been greater than the current 30 million tons or more. These evils and the cost due to them are reflected mainly in the prolonged failure to satisfy the material and cultural needs of society and its members, as well as in the serious disproportion in the relations of the socialist economy and the consequent anomalies. In the economic arena, between industry and agriculture, between light and heavy industries and between the fuel and motive power industry and other industries the gravity of the disproportion in the relationships has made the problems continuously increase and become increasingly more difficult to handle. In the area of the people's livelihood, between 1958 and 1978 there was hardly any change in the wage level of the workers under the system of ownership by the whole people. If we consider the factor of rising commodity prices, for some workers real wages have even fallen. Of course, things should not be viewed from this aspect alone. During that period employment increased, and the total sum of wages increased (with not less than half of the increased wages going to new workers). The average number of persons dependent on each worker decreased. Therefore, overall the workers' livelihood did not deteriorate significantly, but even improved slightly. As for the peasants' livelihood, currently there are a considerable number of production teams in the whole country whose common members have a very low average income and grain ration. Since the launching of the "going to four," wages have been adjusted three times in succession on a nationwide scale. In particular, in 1979 the state appropriated huge sums to raise the state purchase price of agricultural products, increase the workers' wages and build workers dormitories with a total area approaching 60 million square meters, which is the highest level in its kind since the founding of the People's Republic. Therefore, conditions have been gradually improved.

41. In peaceful times of development, in a socialist country, so many needs of the people's livelihood have been unfulfilled, production has increased while livelihood suffers from many shortages, and accumulation has expanded while consumption remains stagnant. Therefore, is it an exaggeration and is it not justified to call such phenomena a tendency of "production for production's sake" and to say that such phenomena to a certain extent deviate from the aim of socialist production? Undoubtedly, such phenomena dampen the enthusiasm of the people to work and directly impede bringing the superiority of the socialist economy into play. In addition, they inevitably harm the economy. That is why in 1978 our party resolved to adopt the economic policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving."

27. What should be examined are the causes of such phenomena. Apart from considering the factor of the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we should especially analyze the subjective guiding ideology which caused the phenomenon of "production for production's sake." We should take "production for production's sake" and its consequences as the materialization of such guiding ideology. The responsibility for the guiding ideology does not rest with the economic departments and those who implemented it in general. We cannot simply say that the vast numbers of comrades engaged in socialist economic work have not solved their problem as regards "the aim." Rather, we should say that nearly all of them have been diligently serving society. It seems that the fact that the guiding ideology is too radical is the main disadvantage in building socialism in a country such as ours, whose economy is backward for historical reasons. There was this viewpoint: Instead of letting our country advance slowly in steady conditions, so that its economy grew slowly and lagged behind the economically developed countries for a long time, we should temporarily let the people put up with shortages and temporarily limit the satisfaction of the people's needs in order to speed up economic development and narrow the gap as quickly as possible. This would be more compatible with the long-term interests of the country and the people, would enable the people's living standard to be raised faster in the future, and would enable our country to make greater contributions to mankind. Is not such a viewpoint and proposition correct? Such propaganda is even very appealing. You see, is production not for the sake of consumption? Is it not for higher consumption in the future? However, this way of doing things exceeded a proper limit, because it had to be subject to the condition that the entire economy could surely develop proportionately and that the consumption funds could surely enjoy a definite growth, so that the people's current livelihood needs could be satisfied to a certain extent (even if to a lower extent). When this limit was exceeded, such an investment allocation occurred: the accumulation rate reached a very high level which was contrary to objective capability, so that the necessary consumption funds were displaced. Very high investments in fixed assets even displaced certain kinds of simple reproduction. In production there were some subjectivist abnormal measures which can surely be said to be contrary to science, namely, "high targets" and "blind direction." Consequently, for a period of time the entire national economy was disproportioned and the improving of the people's livelihood was affected, resulting in acute contradictions with the aim of socialist production of satisfying society's needs. Long-term interests and immediate interests, as well as the "means" and the "end," were confused at the start and were diverged in the end. Economically, more haste resulted in less speed. Subjectively, there was a desire to demonstrate the superiority of socialism through such methods, but as a consequence the superiority of socialism was ruined to a certain extent. Anyone who to some extent cares about the national economic development will probably visualize such an unpleasant picture when he closes his eyes and thinks.

iv. It is hard to find fault with the fact that we have never had a serious and systematic study of the history of exploration and experimentation. The importance of such studies is not surprising. But we must not use the past in setting up superstitions and pointing out the problems. The important problem we must point out is whether we acknowledge the existence of objective economic laws. Undeniably, some of our comrades believe and even in the face of their own subjective will are maintaining the role of subjective laws. Stalin's book "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" is highly instructive with regard to superstitious and false views about the laws of the economy. What should be our aim in this case? We should hold the above viewpoints, or in other words, we should not let our comrades who are preparing to unreasonably achieve a "high speed" rate, be influenced in their minds by two things: one is called "compulsory for the sake of high speed," and the other is called "the policy of giving absolute priority to the production of the means of production." We will separately discuss these two viewpoints.

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40. There was also a theory, "absolute priority must be given to the production of the means of production," which supported the principle of "high accumulation rate." Here this theory is specifically manifested in the absolute priority given to the growth of heavy industry and to the expansion of the scale of capital construction. For many years our accumulation rate has been too high basically because the scale of heavy industry and capital construction has been too high. Such a tendency began in 1956. Consider the investment in capital construction during the First Five-Year Plan period. In 1954 it grew by 1.9 percent compared with 1953. In 1955 it grew by 14.6 percent compared with 1954. In 1956 it abruptly grew by 65.5 percent compared with 1955. Now, 1956 was the fourth year of the First Five-Year Plan period, and for many factories the import of equipment and the installation of machinery took place in this year (and in 1957), and the growth rate of capital construction investment should justifiably have been higher than in previous years. But an increase of 65.5 percent in one leap was too abrupt, and therefore the supply of material resources was thrown into disequilibrium and deficits occurred in the state's finances. This was the famous "premature advance" in 1956. Today probably no one will doubt that the opposition to premature advance at that time was absolutely necessary and a sound policy. But in 1958 the Great Leap Forward appeared. At that time the new practice was "taking steel as the key link," singling out steel and using the high target for steel to promote high targets for the whole economy. The theoretical basis was still the same: that absolute priority must be given to the production of the means of production, and now this was also interpreted as the necessity for the iron and steel industry to take absolute priority. Actually, it became running heavy industry for the sake of heavy industry and producing steel for steel's sake. Such practice caused great damage to the organism of our national economy and had far-reaching effects. Because the experience in 1956 and 1958 to 1960 had not been conscientiously summed up, because people dared not talk directly about the errors, and because it was only permissible to oppose the right but not the "left," such practices still recurred in 1966, after 1970 in particular, and even up till 1978.

41. Is it an objective economic law to give priority to the growth of the means of production? Under certain conditions it is. For example, when the development of production requires large quantities of newly added and renewed equipment and the organic component is being augmented, it is inevitable to give priority to the growth of the means of production. But here we must not hold any absolute viewpoint, just as when we view any other thing. First of all, we must not set the preferred growth in the production of the means of production against the coordinated development of the two major departments. In other words, the preferred growth in the production of the means of production must be coordinated with the satisfaction of society's consumption needs. The reason is, as Lenin pointed out, the production of the means of production "is, in the final analysis, linked with individual consumption and is varied according to individual consumption." ("Review of Problems in Market Theory,"

"The growth in the production of the means of production must necessarily be constrained by the production of the means of subsistence. In capitalism the production of the means of production grows faster than that of the means of livelihood, and both have reached a point as a manifestation of the contradiction between production and consumption peculiar to capitalism. This contradiction arises from "production for production's sake" and the neglect of consumption. From such a contradiction arises, under the conditions of capitalism, the fact that it can be if we want heavy industry for its own sake and neglect consumption. To avoid this, to avoid "production for production's sake," Marx pointed out that under the condition of socialism and under socialist government control of those productive enterprises which have long production cycles and which consume many human and material resources and must prevent their scale from becoming too large. These industries consume labor and the means of production for a relatively long time, but within this time they do not supply any useful products. Some other branches of production, however, do not just consume labor and the means of production in one year but also supply means of livelihood and the means of production. On the basis of production under public ownership a suitable scale of the former must be determined so that the former will not harm the latter." "Das Kapital, II," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, pp 396-397, but for many years we have been doing the very things which "harm the latter." One example is the many projects which have grown moss. Secondly, we clarify the size of heavy industrial production, to avoid creating heavy industry for its own sake, or, as Marx said, to have workers calculating in advance a rational proportion between the outputs of the two departments. Comrade Mao Zedong stipulated that our planning should follow the order of priority of "agriculture, light industry, heavy industry." That is, we should proceed from the production of the means of subsistence in planning the balanced development of heavy industry, agriculture and light industry. This is a very correct principle, but for many years certain practices of ours have been carried out in direct contravention of this correct principle.

Thirdly, can we regard the following two things as identical: first, the preferred growth in the production of the means of production, and secondly, the proportion and rate of growth of the output of the means of production being higher than those of the output of the means of subsistence? Again, we cannot. The general trend toward preferred growth in the production of the means of production (leaving aside the fact that this "general trend" may change under specified conditions) does not mean that the proportion and rate of growth of the output of the means of production should be higher than those of the output of the means of livelihood at any time. Under certain conditions and within a certain period the proportion and rate of growth of the output of the means of livelihood can certainly be higher than those of the output of the means of production, and the former may also be roughly equal to the latter. This situation occurs frequently in the history of the economic development of both

capitalism and socialism. For example, according to computations, in the United States between 1954 and 1972 the average annual growth rate of all industries was 4 percent, and the output of products of the second category grew by 4.5 percent annually, faster than those of the first category. (Note that the output of industries of the first category also included the arms output for use in the Korean and Vietnam wars. If this had not been included, the growth rate of the second category would have been much higher than the first category.) Some people may think that Stalin stressed priority for growth in the production of the means of production and therefore must have made the proportion of the output of the means of production higher than that of the output of the means of livelihood in his planning throughout. Actually, this was not the case. Compare the Soviet Union's first and second five-year plans: In the Soviet Union's First Five-Year Plan the proportion of the output of the means of production (of the Category A industries) was higher than that of the output of the means of subsistence (of the Category B industries), and they were respectively 53.3 percent and 46.7 percent. In the Second Five-Year Plan the two changed positions, and the output of the means of livelihood constituted 52.9 percent and that of the means of production 47.1 percent. The growth rate of the output of the means of livelihood was also higher than that of the means of production; the former being 22 percent and the latter 16 percent. (See Molotov's report on "The Tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan" at the 17th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)) Later, however, because of changes in the international situation, the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan deviated from the above stipulation. Of course, on the whole Stalin still overemphasized heavy industry and let it displace agriculture and light industry, so that grave consequences resulted.

48. We have analyzed the phenomenon called "production for production's sake" on the basis of the basic economic law of socialism. We do not think that this analysis is completely appropriate and comprehensive. It may contain elements that are not sufficiently appropriate or comprehensive. I think that our common starting point should be this consideration: During the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic there have been great achievements, but we have also encountered some setbacks and paid a high cost. The experience should be conscientiously summed up. Everyone should be allowed to sum up the experience. Under socialism, without democracy in economic matters, we cannot begin to talk about socialist democracy. We must not refuse to sum up historical experience just because the present economic situation has improved. Our current economic situation is really fine and our politics are correct. But we must make a clearheaded appraisal of the force of habit of old practices, formed over many years. In a certain sense this force of habit has become deep rooted. We must see the great difficulty of implementing the new policies under such conditions. Lenin said: "If yesterday's experience has not enabled us to discover the incorrectness of old methods, then today we can certainly not learn new methods to settle our tasks." ("The Seventh Party Congress of Moscow Province,"

"Illustration taken from Lenin," Vol 33, p 71) For example, suppose we trip and fall while walking; then if we want to walk forward correctly, we must discover what was wrong with the old method of walking. Late in the 1950's, after the first major setback, the experience was not honestly summed up, and consequently a second setback occurred. We must not stay in that old groove any more. To avoid another setback, the only correct method is to practically discover the causes of the past setbacks, earnestly correct the errors and steadfastly implement the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. The problem facing us now is: What should be the basis on which we formulate our economic line and economic programs, and should we take into consideration objective economic laws, in particular the basic economic law of socialism? Clearly understanding this problem by studying the real situation and historical experience is very important to implementing the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy, to determining the long- and short-term direction for national economic development and to achieving the four modernizations.

The Important Issue Is To Be Good at Studying

49. For many years we have not paid attention to doing things according to objective economic laws and have suffered greatly. Now conditions have changed. Many people have recalled the existence of objective economic laws and realize that they must be respected. In the past 2 years people have talked mostly about the law of distribution according to work done, the law of the national economy's planned proportionate development, and, in particular, the law of value. But the basic economic law of socialism has not been given due attention. This shows that for a long time people have consciously or unconsciously neglected the basic economic task. After the aim of socialist production was put forward for discussion in October last year, people began to remember the basic economic law of socialism and to conduct discussions on a large scale in relation to the reality. This is both very natural and very important, because the basic economic law of a given society determines all the main aspects and the main process of development of production in the society. It plays a leading role in its social economic activities. This applies to the basic economic law of socialism. This law is the main basis on which the proletarian party and state formulates the line, principles and policies for the socialist period. It is the basic starting point of all economic work. This is manifested more directly and obviously when the focus of the party's and the state's work is definitely diverted to economic construction.

50. Presently, for many of us the basic economic law of socialism is still a realm of necessity. We all have little experience and knowledge. If we want to really consciously implement the party's line for the current period of achieving the four modernizations and implement the economic policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and

improving" adopted for this purpose, then we must take the basic economic law of socialism as our basis and master and apply this law; otherwise things will not work. Past experience has clearly proved this. Therefore, the important issue is to be good at studying, and particularly good at studying historical experience. In a certain sense, the success of the four modernizations will depend on how well we study. To study well the comrades doing practical work and those doing theoretical work must learn from each other, supplementing each other's shortcomings, as emphatically pointed out by the responsible comrades of the party Central Committee. The comrades doing practical work contribute great efforts in restoring and developing the national economy, and their work is very heavy, but they must spare more time to learn more theory. In particular, they must respect historical experience, improve their consciousness and reduce their blindness. I think everyone will realize that this directive is very important. If we are willing to study and if we study well, we can certainly make greater contributions to the four modernizations. (Compiled on the basis of a report in March 1980)

CSO: 4004

UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLE OF PARTY SPIRIT IN PROPAGANDA WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 19-23

[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text] The 3th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out that to speed up the four modernizations we should uphold and improve the party's leadership. Conscientiously upholding the principle of party spirit and further strengthening the fighting power of the party's propaganda work are important aspects of consolidating and improving the party's leadership.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and during the year or so following the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in particular, the party's propaganda departments and the broad masses of propaganda workers have constantly improved their work, strengthened the proletarian party spirit and scored marked success in the struggle to criticize the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," emancipate their minds and bring order out of chaos and, in the process, carry out the party's political, ideological and organizational lines. However, we should also realize that there are still many shortcomings and defects in our work, such as inaccuracies, one-sidedness, tendencies toward objectivism and so forth. In addition, a handful of propaganda units and propaganda workers have repeatedly violated the rules and regulations on propaganda work. Therefore, a matter of primary importance is to further sum up experiences, increase understanding and strengthen party spirit to improve and consolidate the party's propaganda work.

1. To uphold the principle of party spirit in propaganda work we should, first of all, have the firm standpoint of the party, safeguard the interests of the party and people and completely and accurately propagate the party's line, guiding principles and policies and resolutely fight interference from the "left" and right.

There is a proletarian party which works in the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of people and faithfully represents the interests of people of various nationalities in China. The interests of

the proletarian class and people are the interests of the party. Apart from that, the party has no other interests. The entire party's work, including propaganda work, and the party's line, guiding principles and policies as well as all our words and deeds should conform to the greatest interests of the broad masses of people. They should also be supported by the broad masses of people. This should be regarded as the highest criterion. The basic way for our party to spread propaganda among the masses and organize them is to make them realize their own interests and unite as one to strive for their own interests. Everything for the people (including the proletariat and the oppressed and exploited people throughout the world) is the highest principle of the proletarian party spirit. Of course, the category of the people is subject to change in light of historical development. At the present stage, workers, peasants, intellectuals and other laborers as well as patriots fall within the category of the people. Their basic interests are identical. Nevertheless, they have their own special interests and requirements owing to the differences in their social positions.

The party is the leading nucleus of all the Chinese people. The party's line, guiding principles and policies should reflect the common interests of various nationalities and the greatest interests of the broad masses of people, as well as the personal interests of people in various fields. They should correctly combine the state's partial interests as well as overall interests on the one hand and immediate interests and long-term interests on the other. Therefore, to uphold the principle of party spirit in propaganda work we should not only think of the interests of the people and constantly listen to the voice and demands of the masses but also fight ideas and actions which are detrimental to the interests of the people. In the meantime, our propaganda work should be closely linked with the practical interests of the people and their personal experiences. We should use the party's line, principles and policies to educate and guide the people, so that they will adopt an overall point of view and consciously fight for the basic interests of the people of various nationalities. At present the focus of our work should be centered on propagating the party's political line, principles and policies of the new period and leading people of various nationalities throughout the country to strive for the four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly said: Empty talk is useless, and we must provide people with real material interests. Our propaganda workers should truly and wholeheartedly serve the interests of the masses, be concerned with their well-being and pay attention to their problems of production and livelihood. Only thus can we help them gradually raise their political consciousness through their own personal experiences, understand the party's policies and support the party's resolutions. We stress that our work should be based on the practical interests of the masses and their personal benefits. Of course, our purpose in doing so is to help the masses raise their ideological and political consciousness

and arouse their socialist enthusiasm and creativity. Therefore, we should avoid the practice of "holding out economic baits alone without talking about principle." If we fail to talk about the prospects of socialism, ideals and the overall interests of the party and state, people's minds will be confined to a narrow realm of immediate interests. While handling the relations between the leaders and the masses, we should oppose both commandism and tailism.

During the days when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, propaganda workers did not dare talk about the interests of the people, and particularly material interests in particular. Those who dared raise these subjects were accused of practicing individualism, economism, revisionism and so forth. They were at least branded as "failing to give prominence to politics." At that time our newspapers and magazines were flooded with party political sermons and deceitful lies, and the people's real voice and demands could not be found there. Propaganda work was monopolized by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They did everything possible to make the party's propaganda work serve their factional interests. They propagated things which opposed the people and harmed their interests. The "politics" they advocated absolutely were not the politics of serving the people, but the politics of forcing people to serve their counter-revolutionary purposes. This kind of "propaganda" and "politics" was naturally detested and rejected by the people.

Great changes have taken place in our propaganda work since the smashing of the "gang of four." In particular, our newspapers and magazines truly express the people's ideas and voice their opinions. Therefore, our newspapers and magazines (including their form and content) are more and more loved by the people and have become important links between the party and the masses. However, we are also facing some new problems in the present new situation, including ways to correctly treat the people's opinions, demands and their weal and woe and the correct methods to fight against bureaucratism, prerogatives and the unhealthy tendencies of "entering by the back door" and so forth. All these problems merit the attention of our propaganda workers.

As we have mentioned above, our propaganda workers should be concerned with the weal and woe of the people and voice their ideas and opinions and dare to fight various unhealthy tendencies which are detrimental to the people's interests. The principle of party spirit has demanded mainly that we proceed from the overall situation and the greatest interests of the broad masses of people, namely, the interests for promoting stability and unity. There is no doubt that our purpose in developing production and realizing the four modernizations is to completely improve the material and cultural life of our people. However, our country is still very poor, and much has to be done to improve the people's livelihood. This problem can only be solved gradually on the basis of developing production. Therefore, while dealing with this problem we have to make some specific analyses in our propaganda work: When conditions exist, we

should enthusiastically speed up the settlement of some problems that should be solved. As for some problems that cannot be solved at once, we should avoid making any rash promises. Instead, we should adopt the method of patient persuasion and explanation in accordance with the party's policy. Otherwise, the people will be dissatisfied with us. There is no doubt that unhealthy tendencies such as bureaucratism, prerogatives, backdoor deals and so forth do greatly hamper the realization of the four modernizations, and they should be overcome. However, while dealing with this subject, we should also adopt some proper methods in our propaganda work and have the stability and unity of our country in mind. Only then can this subject be solved practically and effectively. Most of these mistakes fall within the category of contradictions among the people, with the exception of a tiny number of severe violations of state laws and regulations. Therefore, our main efforts must be exerted on persuasion and education.

Our country is now in a period characterized by the new superseding the old and doing away with the old and setting up the new. New contradictions arise constantly before we have completely solved the problems left over from history. People have a host of difficulties in their livelihood. Some people have grumbled and complained because of a lack of confidence. In addition, the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought out unhealthy tendencies within the party which greatly impaired the party's prestige among the people. Under such circumstances, some comrades maintained that we should speak up more for the people in our propaganda work, express their views and show an affinity with the people, and that we should avoid overemphasizing party spirit. They wrongly thought that once we stress party spirit and uphold the party leadership our role in speaking up for the people and being their mouthpiece will be hampered. Such a viewpoint of separating party spirit from affinity with the people is a complete misunderstanding of the principle of party spirit. Proletarian party spirit and affinity with the people are completely identical. This is the main criterion for distinguishing between our party and bourgeois political parties, which work only for their own selfish interests. In the present situation, all problems should be handled in a way which is beneficial to strengthening the relations between the party and the people, to improving and consolidating the party's leadership and to encouraging the entire party and people of various nationalities to strive for the realization of the four modernizations with one heart and one mind and the promotion of stability and unity. This is the greatest interest of the party and people and the most important issue that concerns the overall situation of our whole party and state. If we fail to take this overall situation into consideration, we cannot begin to talk about a staunch party spirit and a true affinity with the people.

11. To uphold the principle of party spirit in propaganda work we should stick to the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts and oppose the tendencies toward subjectivism, the practice of "telling lies, bragging and indulging in idle talk" and objectivism.

The practice of seeking truth from facts is a concise and brilliant expression of Comrade Mao Zedong's world outlook of dialectical materialism. This is a correct cognitive line, that is, an ideological line which we should strictly observe to do our work well. Why should we observe the ideological line of seeking truth from facts while upholding the proletarian principle of party spirit? It is because the interests, demands and will of the proletariat and the broad masses of people which our party has adequately represented are in line with the objective laws of social development and the general trends of human history. Only by observing the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and strictly acting in accordance with the objective laws can we effectively work in the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of people. In the meantime, only by taking the firm class stand of the proletariat and the masses and serving the interests of the public wholeheartedly can we stick to the principle of seeking truth from facts and know and change the world in accordance with objective laws. It is our party spirit that unifies such a staunch proletarian class stand and world outlook.

In recent years, while repudiating the idealist, metaphysical and reactionary ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we have also criticized the subjective tendencies of the ideological line of some comrades. Such subjectivism manifests itself in book worship, that is, adopting the "two whatevers" attitude to treat Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is also manifested in disregarding the objective law in practical work, acting in accordance with subjective will and messing things up by giving wrong orders. For many years our party and people and every comrade suffered a lot in this respect. We never so clearly realized as we do today that subjectivism is the archenemy of the party, the people and the four modernizations. Subjectivism is also a manifestation of impurities in the party spirit. The practice of "telling lies, bragging and indulging in idle talk" in propaganda work is not only a subjectivism which results from an incorrect cognitive line but also a malpractice of deliberately distorting, covering up or evading objective matters and their laws. Therefore, it cannot be tolerated by proletarian party spirit.

After criticizing subjectivism and the practice of "telling lies, bragging and indulging in idle talk," some comrades in our propaganda front jumped to another extreme; they adopted the stand of pure objectivism, which manifested itself in certain tendencies toward naturalism in some of our literary and art works. Some articles on the theory of literature and art lopsidedly emphasized "truthful writing" and negated the tendentiousness of literary and art works. In our propaganda and press circles, some people raised the "mirror theory"; in other words, they maintained that propaganda work is like a mirror and should truly reflect the objective world. They also held that only in this way could we truly seek truth from facts. Such a view is actually a tendency toward objectivism.

It is improper to regard our propaganda work as a mirror, because, first, a mirror can only mechanically and directly reflect an objective world, a superficial phenomenon and certain aspects of a matter. It cannot reflect the essence and entirety of the matter. Our propaganda workers are shouldering the task of helping people seek truth and correctly understand the world. They can only take the appearance of a thing as an usher at the threshold, and once they cross the threshold they should grasp the essence of the thing. Second, a mirror can at most reflect the world passively. However, Marx stated: The most important problem does not lie in explaining the world but in changing the world. Our main purpose in doing propaganda work is to encourage, arouse and guide the people to take part in the struggle to change the world (including the changing of our own subjective world and cognitive ability). In a word, the theory of the "reflection like a mirror" is no more than a metaphysical theory of reflection. We should not adopt such a cognitive line in our propaganda work. Instead, we should make great efforts to stick to an active and revolutionary theory of reflecting Marxism.

Can we adopt a purely objective attitude and propagate everything we have seen? Our propaganda work should be based on objective facts. We are not allowed to follow the old practice of "telling lies, bragging and indulging in idle talk." We always have our definite purpose and tendentiousness in our propaganda work. In other words, we should guide the people to correctly understand and change the world in accordance with the stand and world outlook of the proletariat and the interests and demands of the proletariat and the broad masses of people. Therefore, in the process of acquainting ourselves with the actual condition we should do the work of "discarding the dross and selecting the essential" and "eliminating the false and retaining the true." When we are doing propaganda work we should always guide the people to understand the matter correctly, so that they will take effective action in the interests of the people's cause. We should on no account adopt the so-called purely objective attitude of propagating everything we have seen. For instance, since the smashing of the "gang of four" our socialist motherland has scored great success, which is the bright side of things. We still have a number of defects and shortcomings, which is the dark side of things. If our propaganda workers only select a large number of examples of achievements and shortcomings as well as brightness and darkness, as a mirror does, and then publish them in the newspapers "objectively" without any analysis, can such propaganda work help people correctly understand the situation and encourage them to strive for the four modernizations with full confidence? Obviously, such propaganda work will not achieve good results and will only give people a confused impression. If a propaganda worker can only get in touch with the bright or dark side of a thing because of the limitations of time and place and his own cognitive ability and carries out his propaganda work on such a narrow basis, the result of such propaganda work will be contrary to our desire: it will either make people unrealistically optimistic or pessimistic and despondent. Such mirror-type propaganda work which describes a thing as it is may truly reflect certain things or

only certain aspects, but it cannot reflect things in their entirety and their inexorable trend of development. In other words, it cannot reflect the essence of the new period of our socialist revolution and construction. Essentially, this kind of reflection is not necessarily true. Therefore, it is wrong to say that only by taking such a purely objective attitude can we truly pursue the practice of seeking truth from facts.

There is another misguided ideal. Some people have wrongly thought that once we talk about stand, interests, tendentiousness and party spirit our practice of looking at problems in an objective way will be obstructed. As a result, we will not be able to strictly implement the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Such a view has confused the stand and party spirit of the proletariat with that of the bourgeoisie. As we have already mentioned, neither the proletarian stand nor the principle of party spirit ever rejects the practice of seeking truth from facts. On the contrary, both demand that we strictly pursue the practice. The proletariat which takes the emancipation of all of mankind as its own task is the boldest in upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts. The bourgeoisie and its ideologists attach importance to truly studying objective matters as long as their class interests are not encroached upon. However, once the trends of the development of things conflict with their interests, they will do everything possible to cover up and distort the true facts--"telling lies without feeling guilty." Marx sharply exposed the stand of bourgeois ideologists: "The peculiar nature of the material which political economy deals with summons as foes onto the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions in the human breast, the furies of private interests." ("Preface to the First German Edition of 'Das Kapital,'" "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 1, p. 451) According to the general trends of social development, the exploiting system of capitalism and the bourgeoisie as an exploiting class eventually will be eradicated. Therefore, fundamentally speaking, the bourgeois class stand is incompatible with the principle of seeking truth from facts.

Notwithstanding, instead of taking either the stand of the proletarian or bourgeois party spirit, can we adopt a purely objective attitude of reflecting things? No. Unlike a mirror, people actually cannot always remain indifferent and reflect the world in a purely objective way. They always adhere to the stand of a certain class or social group. They always observe and handle matters with a definite purpose and tendentiousness in their minds. The differences lie only in what stand they take, what purpose they pursue and what effects they will achieve. The bourgeois ideologists always brag about the so-called objectivism which transcends class, political parties and groups as well as party spirit. Actually, this is only their stupid attempt and hypocritical sermon by which they try to cover up their bourgeois class stand and party spirit.

III. To uphold the principle of party spirit in propaganda work we should consciously merge all our work under the unified direction of the

party. While giving full play to our enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, we should also strictly observe the discipline of the party's propaganda work.

In his report entitled "Our Present Situation and Tasks" delivered on 16 January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: To uphold and improve the party's leadership we should strengthen the party's discipline. There is a big nation with a population of 970 million, and our party is a big one with 38 million members. Without iron discipline, which insures the powerful leadership of the party, it is impossible to smoothly carry out our socialist modernization.

The party's discipline is a guarantee of the implementation of the party's line. Our political, ideological and organizational lines have been established. These are correct lines established on the basis of summing up both positive and negative experiences over the past 30 years. Under the unified leadership of the party, every comrade working on the party's propaganda front, all our propaganda instruments and the party's propaganda work in various fields should resolutely and unconditionally propagate the line, guiding principles and policies of the CCP Central Committee. If a party member holds different views on the decisions of the party Central Committee on political theories and policies, he is allowed to raise his objections within the party and report to the central authorities. However, he is not allowed to openly publish or broadcast any opinions or views contrary to the decisions of the central authorities. In addition, the party's propaganda workers are not allowed to spread opinions or views among the masses which are contrary to the party's line, guiding principles and policies. Otherwise, such an act will lead to ideological confusion and adversely affect and jeopardize the cause of the party and people.

Our party's discipline is based on a high level of consciousness. Stalin said: "Such discipline is based on ideological solidarity, clarity concerning the aims of the movement, unity of practical action and understanding of the party's tasks by the mass of party members." ("The Prospects of the Communist Party of Germany and the Question of Bolshevization," "Complete Works of Stalin," p 40) Therefore, our propaganda front should further enlarge democracy within the party, further emancipate the mind and fully arouse the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the broad masses of party members and cadres and deepen their sense of responsibility to the party's cause, so that the party's discipline and unity will be consolidated. Comrade Liu Shaoqi repeatedly pointed out: "The party opposes disregard for discipline and the practice of autonomism, but advocates and encourages initiative on the part of every party member in tackling problems and in doing his work independently under the general direction of the party." (Liu Shaoqi: "On the Party") We stress the importance of strengthening discipline, but this does not mean that we should restrict inner-party democracy and hamper the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of party members. On

the contrary, our purpose in strengthening discipline is to insure the healthy development of inner-party democratic life, so that every party member will give full play to his wisdom and talent in accordance with the four basic principles and the party's line and make the greatest contributions to the cause of the party and people and the endeavors to build our motherland into a modern, powerful socialist country.

The key to upholding the principle of party spirit in propaganda work lies in strengthening the cultivation of party spirit on the part of propaganda workers. Under the leadership of the party, every propaganda worker should conscientiously study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, make a thorough investigation and maintain close ties with the masses. While taking part in the struggle to reform the objective world, every propaganda worker should also conscientiously reform his own world within. He should always use Comrade Zhou Enlai's well-known saying to encourage and urge ourselves forward: Learn, work and remold yourself as long as you live!

END / ADD

CREATIVITY IS NEEDED IN DOING LEADERSHIP WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 24-27

[Article by Ji Si (1518 1835)]

[Text] Leading cadres of the party at all levels are organizers and leaders of socialist modernization. Whether or not they have creativity in their work has a direct bearing on the progress of the great cause of the four modernizations. Therefore, how to work in a creative way is an acute problem now confronting the leadership at every level.

That creativity is needed in doing leadership work is actually not a new issue. We communists are working for a cause which has no parallel in history. Socialism itself is a great creation. Since we do not have a ready approach to socialist modernization in a big country with a vast territory, a large population and a weak economic foundation like ours, it is all the more necessary for us to explore and create in the course of practice. Thus, we can say that without creative work there can be no socialist modernization. Our present tasks and situation make it all the more imperative for us to be creative in doing leadership work. Although we have won a number of great victories in the 30 years since the founding of the People's Republic we have also traversed a tortuous course and suffered serious setbacks. The state of "poverty and blankness" has basically remained unchanged. During the 10 years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck our national economy was pushed to the brink of collapse, and much of our precious time for socialist construction was wasted. Our party has now set for us the great goal of achieving the four modernizations before the end of this century, which is only 20 years away. These are 20 unusual years. Time and tide wait for no man. We must score decisive achievements in the 1980's in order to lay a solid foundation for the following decade. For this reason, the 1980's are decisive years. This demands that our leading cadres at all levels increase their efficiency and be full of vitality in work. They must not give vague and general directions, work at a leisurely pace, be content with mediocrity and attempt nothing and accomplish nothing. In a word, it demands that our leading cadres be highly creative in doing leadership work to meet the needs of the party's general line.

We are happy to see that since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the shift in the focus of the party's work to socialist modernization, many leading comrades have plucked up their spirit, conscientiously emancipated their minds and led the masses in striving to make improvements in work on the new Long March. A number of reformers who dare to think and to act and men of action who "think about the four immortals even in their dreams" have emerged from among them. However, some localities, departments and units still use the same general methods of leadership for everything. In these places some leading comrades still have not completely rectified their ideological line and do not have any knowledge of the Marxist methods of leadership and work, and the party's line, principles and policies have not been effectively implemented. Some leading comrades lag far behind the masses and always follow the beaten track. They do not study the new situation or solve new problems, dare not assume responsibility and commit themselves publicly when something comes up and are content with giving vague and general directions. The pernicious influence of "follow the instructions and nothing will go amiss" and other fallacies of formalism preached by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still have not been thoroughly eliminated in a small number of places. Some comrades treat the directives of the central and higher authorities in a formalistic way. After a meeting is held at a higher level they follow suit and hold a similar one. After receiving a document from the higher authorities they mechanically copy it, dish it up in a new form and transmit it to the lower levels without taking the actual local conditions into account. They are content with being able to function as an "office handling incoming and outgoing mail" and as a "relay station." These comrades have forgotten that everyday life is rich and colorful and has immense variety. Superficially, it seems that these comrades who do everything they are told and adopt the same general methods of leadership for everything are devout followers of the higher authorities, but in fact they are jeopardizing the socialist cause without knowing it. As a result, the masses are tied hand and foot, while some of our leading comrades waste their time and energy over trivial matters. Leadership in the areas of line, principles and policies is thus weakened. The masses of cadres and people are not happy and feel anxious about this state of affairs. They have strongly pressed for quick changes.

To be creative in doing leadership work we must thoroughly smash the spiritual shackles of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," emancipate our minds, start up the machinery, try in every possible way to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and quickly promote modernization in every field. We must always act in the spirit of the party Central Committee's directives, correctly understand and grasp the party's line, principles and policies and conscientiously and effectively implement them in the light of the actual situation in our own localities and departments. Reflected in the mental state of a leader, being creative in doing leadership work means he must have great revolutionary dedication and a strong sense of responsibility in political matters.

dare to assume responsibility and to act, combine lofty aspirations and great ideals with the spirit of getting on with the job, dare to think and to act in a scientific way, create a lively atmosphere of friendly emulation and truly be able to discover, invent and create things.

The series of principles and policies laid down by the central authorities for the implementation of the party's line are put forward after summing up the overall situation. Therefore, they have a general character and are something that concern the whole. To translate them into the actual actions of the millions and millions of people and turn theory into reality, practice is needed. We must, in the light of the actual situation in different places, work out effective steps, forms and measures, seek unity in thinking among the cadres and the masses, overcome all obstacles and solve specific problems. Only in this way can we truly implement the party's principles and policies. No matter how perfect or correct a principle or policy is, it cannot possibly include a ready program that is applicable to every aspect of life. If we do not work out concrete plans for carrying out the party's principles and policies and dialectically uniting the general and specific character of things, implementation of the party's principles and policies will be just so much idle talk. In recent years the situation in agriculture throughout the country has been particularly gratifying. An important reason for this is that party committees at all levels have conscientiously implemented the two central documents on the development of agriculture. On the premise of upholding socialist public ownership and the principle of "to each according to his work," and in light of the specific conditions and characteristics of different localities, they have adopted methods that are most conducive to arousing the enthusiasm of the peasants and promoting the growth of the productive forces. Countless facts tell us that, in those localities, departments and units where leadership work is full of creativity, everyone is exhilarated and every undertaking is making progress; in those localities, departments and units where everything is generalized, work will stagnate or move at a very slow pace and things will always look the same. The Zhoujiazhuang Commune on the central Hebei plain remained backward for a long time. In early 1979 a leading comrade who had once been persecuted by the "gang of four" resumed work and was restored to his former leading post. With the help of other comrades he adopted bold and resolute measures to push production responsibility systems in an all-round way. They instituted the system of "three guarantees and one reward," strengthened management over revenue and planning and stepped up cost accounting. They let those who knew the ropes take the responsibility for making decisions, gave prominence to science and absorbed those cadres and technicians who were versed in their line of work, knew management skills and loved the collective into leading groups in charge of production. These cadres and technicians were vested with the authority to boycott arbitrary and impracticable directions from various quarters. Under the principle of upholding the socialist "big collective," commune members were allowed to have "personal freedoms." Because they dared to seek truth from facts and boldly

...and in equidimensionally combining the with the actual conditions in their own the appearance of the commune within the per-mu grain yield in- the per-mu cotton yield increased derived from farming, industry and the commune members' per and average income was increased This spring this commune was commended by the State Council in agriculture.

... .. at all levels must In simple words, this and to act and have the revo- Under the guidance of the correct adopt break through the resistance pro- Inspired by of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the work of a backward to think and to blaze trails He popularized throughout the county which entails full rewards and penal- the production and purchase of At the masses to open up small plots work incurred censure from "The central and the masses How can we leading cadres think about and not lead the masses to work for what the county reaped the best This veteran comrade is However, there are also a and indecisive in As a result of their There are two one is that they still have lingering the other is that they lack

... .. leading cadres with lingering fear proves that exposed rafters Although this line of reasoning is incorrect, For a considerably long and sabotage from the ultra- many people were made to Moreover,

The very first to be buffeted and toppled were those leading cadres who had enthusiasm and dared to think and act and to seek truth from facts. We can never forget this painful historical lesson. The question is, a fundamental change has taken place in the existing reality. Our party not only has formulated a political line in keeping with the demands of historical development and the interests of the people, brought about the great historical turning point which could not be achieved in the past 20 years and more, and restored the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts which was disrupted, but also has given repeated instructions to prevent a recurrence of "persecutions" in the future. If you said you had "lingering fear" 2 years ago, that is understandable. But if you still have not gotten over your "lingering fear" today and keep pushing everything to the upper levels, to the sides and to the lower levels, that is wrong. The basic problem here is how we should deal with personal advantages and disadvantages and with success and failure. As a communist pledged to struggle all one's life for the cause of communism, one must be able to withstand any rigorous test, give no thought to personal success or failure and always bear in mind the interests of the party and people. It is impossible not to take some risks in carrying out revolution. To blaze a trail to revolutionary victory the older generation or proletarian revolutionaries undauntedly shed blood and laid down their lives; what is so extraordinary about our taking a few risks for the four modernizations?

As for the question of lack of confidence, this is because some of the comrades are prone to see only the countless difficulties, the mountain of problems and the heap of troubles caused by the frenzied sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Either they do not see or they do not fully see the great achievements made by the people of the whole country under the leadership of the party, the radical changes that have taken place in the existing state of affairs and the gradual normalization of work in every sector. They see only the appearance but not the essence, the minor issues but not the main flow. They cannot correctly assess the situation. It cannot be denied that after the 10 years of upheavals under Lin Biao and the "gang of four" our party and state are like a person who has been through a serious illness. There are numerous tasks to be undertaken and countless things to be done. There definitely are still many obstacles on the road of our advance. Precisely because of this, it is more necessary for us to face the difficulties squarely and analyze them. We must clearly understand that our difficulties are nothing but unfavorable factors that exist temporarily in the process of getting rid of the old and making way for the new, not products of the socialist system itself. Therefore, we must confidently overcome the difficulties with scientific methods and revolutionary zeal. What is more, we cannot blame everyone but ourselves and turn ourselves to backwardness. The reason we have confidence in the sure triumph of the four modernizations is not only because we have tremendous potentials for realizing the four modernizations, vast territory and rich and abundant resources, but more importantly because we also have brave, industrious

...the work and ... These are our basic ... and reveal ... must be the ... and ... and ... First-class ... and ... and ... emphasizes ... and ... and ... of ... political

... and development of ... things is deepened ... the first ... in the process ... and mistakes in ... This is why ... should soberly ... practice ... and comparisons ... knowledge con- ... are nothing to be afraid of. ... experiences and ... practice, so that one's ... the same serious ... support the ... and help them over- ... something goes wrong in the process ... and even failure results, we also ... What is more, we must not latch ... we should voluntarily shoulder the ... together with the cadres at the lower ... Naturally, we must ... making serious mistakes and take ... This requires us to ... professionally ... of our own job ... the concrete content, the ... of the profession ... suggestions on improving ... In the new historical period, ... and remain perma- ... the views of ... their initiative in leader- ... responsibility. They may even ... go against

merely laws and give orders blindly. In either case, because they lack their initiative in leadership work, our cause will suffer. Naturally, we will be in no position to discuss creativity.

Another important question regarding whether there is creativity in leadership work is whether, by relying on the wisdom and strength of the masses, we can adhere to the leadership method of "from the masses, to the masses." Since the shift in emphasis in the work of the party our leadership cadres at various levels have come across new conditions and problems never encountered before. This requires us to emancipate our minds and boldly ponder and actively explore new measures which are conducive to developing the national economy and mobilizing the enthusiasm of the masses for socialist economic development. However, the old methods of many leadership cadres are no longer valid, and they do not know the new methods. What can be done? The correct attitude and method for reversing this passive situation is to improve our work style, go deeply among the people, the workers, peasants and intellectuals and the basic-level cadres, believe in them, rely on them and respect their creative spirit. Lenin said: "The dynamic creativity of the masses is the basic factor of the new society. Socialism is not founded on orders from above. It is basically incompatible with the bureaucratic mechanism of officialdom. The dynamic creativity of socialism is founded by the masses themselves." ("Meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee," "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 249) The masses have boundless wisdom and strength. The new experiences and things they have created on various fronts are an inexhaustible source for the leadership cadres to draw on in developing work creatively. For a long time the party committee of a certain county in the Taihangshan District made an annual call for afforestation. However, although trees were planted and afforestation carried out, there was no sign of trees. After more than 20 years most of the hills there were still barren. In 1977, after listening to the views of the masses, a production brigade in this county drew up a new rule based on the principle of "more pay for more work." Of every 10 trees grown, 2 belong to the individual, and the products gathered beside the trees also go to the individual. This new rule greatly aroused the enthusiasm of the people. In only 2 years they covered 1,700 mu of barren hills with trees and planted a total of 136,000 trees (of which 21,000 were fruit trees), or 4 times the total amount planted in the previous 27 years of afforestation. Last year the county party committee promptly summed up the experience of this production brigade and actively popularized it over a wide area, and outstanding results were quickly obtained. One of the leading comrades said with deep conviction: Our loads are carried by the masses and not by the individual. There is a limit to the wisdom of a person, but the masses have boundless creativity. This experience fully shows that only by going deep into reality, carrying out investigations and studies, diligently looking for advanced experiences among the masses and constantly drawing on the wisdom and strength of the masses can the leadership cadres carry out work vigorously and creatively.

EMANCIPATION OF THE MIND AND THE FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES

Adding RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 28-32

[Article by Ke Weiran [2688 3634 3544]]

[Text] In more than 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" a major event has occurred in China's ideological field. This refers to the emancipation of the mind. It is correct to say that this is another movement to emancipate the mind after the "May 4th" movement and the Yanan rectification movement in contemporary Chinese history. However, the current movement has been given new historical content and form. The discussion on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth plays a crucial role in the current movement. It broke down the forbidden zones imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and smashed the shackles fettering people's minds. Therefore, the third plenary session, which is of great historic significance, gave a high appraisal to this movement.

Although the current movement to emancipate the mind has not been conducted for a long time, we should not underestimate its achievements. Since the minds of the people have been greatly emancipated, they have basically eliminated the modern superstition created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The distressing mistakes made during the Great Cultural Revolution have been corrected. The erroneous theory that "class struggle should be taken as the key link" which prevailed for several years has been clarified. The party's ideological line of proceeding from reality in everything, seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice again shines brilliantly. The party's work focus has been rapidly shifted. The task of constructing a modern socialist power with a high degree of democracy and civilization has been put before us. We can therefore say that all progress and achievements made on the political, economic, cultural, educational and diplomatic fronts are related to emancipating the mind.

The current movement to emancipate the mind has not emerged accidentally. It is a product of the struggle between two fundamentally contrasting lines. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" our socialist cause has

Enlightenment is our guide for action. The party Central Committee also pointed out that we should conduct the struggle on two fronts: on the one hand we must oppose the ossification of the mind and book worship; on the other we must oppose and criticize the ideological trend which negates the four basic principles. We think these directives of the party Central Committee are very necessary and correct.

The party Central Committee has proposed that we should adhere to the four principles. However, people interpret this proposal differently. Some think that it was made to correct the deviation of "excessive emancipation of the mind," so they oppose continuing the emancipation of the mind on the grounds of adhering to the four basic principles. Some people are full of misgivings. They worry that the four basic principles will fetter people's minds. Others even say that the four basic principles are used as big "sticks" to beat people. They set the four basic principles against the emancipation of the mind. In brief, the question is how we should correctly understand the relationship between emancipation of the mind and the four basic principles.

The essential thing in the emancipation of the mind is to proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, realistically reflect the original feature of objective matters and understand the law of development of objective matters. Objective matters develop continuously, and people's understanding of these matters should also develop continuously. In this sense, there is no end to the emancipation of the mind. Therefore, it can never be excessive. As long as there exists in the world the realm of necessity which people do not understand, people should continue to emancipate their minds. Of course, emancipation of the mind has different historical contents and specific historical tasks in different historical periods. For example, the main purpose of the "May 4th" movement was to defeat "Confucianism," while that of the Yanan rectification movement was to oppose Wang Ming's dogmatism. The current movement is aimed at doing away with the modern superstition created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," breaking down the fetters of force of habit and dogmatism, studying new situations, solving new problems and clearing the way to build a modern socialist power. Therefore, there must be a rule and a road for us to follow. A train will turn over when it is derailed. A ship will run onto the rocks if it deviates from its course. Even airplanes have to follow their routes, despite the fact that there are no physical barriers in the sky. This is commonsense. When the emancipation of the mind goes off the track of social development and does not satisfy historical needs, it will also go astray. Some people take the four basic principles as the track for the emancipation of the mind. They are correct. These four principles are the truth which the Chinese people acquired through bloodshed, sacrifices and setbacks in their protracted revolutionary struggle. They are a scientific reflection of the law of social development and a scientific summing up of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggle. When we followed these four basic principles in the past our minds were more lively. Thus, we achieved the victory of

... socialist revolution and construction. During the Great Cultural Revolution the focus of struggle between our party and Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was whether or not the four basic principles should be upheld. If we negate them, we cannot implement the party's ideological line, and there will be no root and no direction. If the emancipation of the mind violates the four basic principles, that will not be real emancipation of the mind but will cause our ideology to degenerate into bourgeois liberalism. Bourgeois liberalism will disrupt the unity of our ideology and will cause the disintegration of our revolutionary ranks and weaken our combat effectiveness. Historical experiences have proven that any ideology which runs counter to the four basic principles will produce undesirable results no matter how progressive and revolutionary the ideology is thought to be.

We hold that the emancipation of the mind should follow the track of the four modernizations. The basic reason is that our general task today is to build our country into a modern socialist power. The accomplishment of this task has a great bearing on maintaining and developing the revolutionary fruits which the Chinese people have obtained through their protracted, arduous struggle. It has a great bearing on the fundamental interests of the 1 billion people and the destiny and future of our country and nation. However, if we do not persist in proletarian dictatorship, in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and in the leadership of the CPC when we are studying new situations and solving new problems, we will be unable to build our country into a modern socialist power, but all our revolutionary achievements, run counter to the fundamental interests of the 1 billion Chinese people and be condemned through the ages by the whole country and nation.

We should stress the relationship between emancipating the mind and adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Every action is guided by a certain ideology. Which ideology can guide the emancipation of the mind today? Can petty bourgeois ideology do so? No. Can bourgeois ideology? Also no. Only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can assume this important responsibility. Marxism itself is the product of emancipation of the mind. Marx smashed the bonds of age-old bourgeois ideology and founded Marxism. Not restricted by the specific conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels, Lenin founded Leninism according to new historical experiences. Both Stalin and Mao Zedong developed Marxism-Leninism as a result of the emancipation of the mind. Marxism has never viewed that there are immutable things or ideologies. As Marx said: "Dialectics includes in its comprehension an affirmative recognition of the existing state of things. At the same time, it also recognizes the negation of that state and its inevitable breaking up. It regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement and therefore capable of transformation. It lets nothing impose upon it and is in its essence critical and revolutionary." ("Afterword to the Second German Edition of 'Das Kapital,'" "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 24) Emancipation

of the mind is one of the essential characteristics of Marxism. Therefore, it will not fetter people's minds when it is used to guide the emancipation of the mind. In human history, only when the exploiting classes were on the rise did their ideologies tally to a certain extent with the law of social development. Thus, to a certain extent they agree with the emancipation of the mind. The proletariat is the only class whose historical mission is completely in line with the law of social development. Thus, it emancipates the mind in the most thorough way. Marxism-Leninism has revealed the most general laws of nature, human society and human thinking. It is the proletarian world outlook and the proletarian way to understand and transform the world. Only when we take it as the guiding ideology can the emancipation of the mind follow the right track. Lenin once made a brilliant exposition on this issue. He said: "By following the path of Marxist theory we will draw closer and closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); but by following any other path we will arrive at nothing but confusion and lies." ("Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 143) This shows very clearly that only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our powerful weapon to emancipate the mind.

Some comrades cannot see the uniformity of emancipating the mind and the four basic principles. Among these comrades, a small number have a problem of standpoint, while most have a problem of understanding. They ensure the following two demarcation lines: One is the demarcation line between the four distorted basic principles of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the four basic principles our party has persisted in. Out of their counterrevolutionary desire to usurp state and party power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wantonly trampled on the four basic principles during the 10 years of calamity. They replaced scientific socialism with human socialism, proletarian dictatorship with feudal fascist dictatorship, the party's leadership with the gang's leadership and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with distorted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They brought grave disasters to the country and great suffering to the people. Through their personal experiences people have deeply felt that the things distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have nothing to do with the four basic principles our party has consistently adhered to. However, some people cannot make distinctions. They do not know that it is the sham stuff of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," not the genuine four basic principles, that should be doubted and thrown away. Another demarcation line is the one between the four basic principles themselves and our shortcomings and mistakes in the implementation of the four basic principles. For many years we have assessed the situation of class struggle in violation of objective reality. We have made a mistake in magnifying class struggle. Inner-party life during these years was extremely abnormal, and the principle of democratic centralism was disrupted. These shortcomings and mistakes were caused by the violation of the four basic principles rather than by adherence to them. In the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" our party has persisted in the Marxist-Leninist line, gradually restored the original features of

the four basic principles, boldly exposed and firmly corrected the
mistakes and successfully made a historical change. However,
we must deny that, due to the harm done by Lin Biao and the "gang of
four," there still are many unsolved problems among the masses, and
there still are some uncorrected unhealthy tendencies such as bureau-
cratism and privilege-seeking among some leading cadres. Therefore, we
cannot say that all our work has been satisfactory. Nevertheless, our
work is now on the right track in the major areas, including the politi-
cal, ideological and organizational lines. People can see the bright
future. The great achievements made by persisting in the four basic
principles are beginning to appear before our eyes. Even foreigners
holding differing political views have to admit this objective fact.
Would we, the masters of socialist China, not see it even more clearly?

Emancipation of the mind is inseparable from the four basic prin-
ciples. This does not mean that when we are implementing the four basic
principles we need not assume the task of emancipating the mind. People
whose thinking is ossified or semiossified do not understand this.
Returning to them, the four basic principles are immutable and will never
develop. In fact, we have not yet exhausted our understanding of the four
basic principles. Take socialist society, for example. It is a new social
system. Only socialism can solve the unconquerable contradictions
existent in capitalist society, realize the uniformity of all people's
fundamental interests, give full play to the enthusiasm and creativity of
the working people, rapidly develop social productivity in a planned way
and satisfy the daily growing material and cultural needs of all members
of society. This is a great, irrefutable truth. In practice our country
has realized public ownership of the means of production. It has elimi-
nated the fundamental root of class exploitation and abolished the social
conditions of exploitation of man by man and of suppression of man by man.
In this area socialism is the most superior and progressive social system.
However, while socialism is being practiced, what should be done to give
full play to its superiority and to surpass developed capitalist countries
in the political, economic, scientific and cultural areas? This issue
needs further exploration. Such exploration will not be possible without
the emancipation of the mind. Take the upholding of proletarian dicta-
torship as another example. We must proceed from the changed class sit-
uation. In our country (except Taiwan Province), exploiters no longer
exist as a class. However, class struggle still exists. This tells us
that the scope of our dictatorship should be correspondingly reduced,
while the functions of economic construction should be stressed. In
view of the experiences and lessons of proletarian dictatorship over the
past 20 years, we must fully develop socialist democracy and strengthen
the socialist legal system before we can gradually perfect proletarian
dictatorship. Our party has been severely sabotaged by Lin Biao and the
"gang of four," and its central task today is to lead the whole people
to realize the four modernizations. In this new situation it is also
imperative that we improve and strengthen the party's leadership. It is
clear that we have fully understood the implications of persisting to

...principles of how we "have nothing more to do but fold our hands and wait with anxiety at the absolute truth it has attained," we can only proceed by the four basic principles, enrich and develop them continuously. As Engels thought, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p. 277. "Scientific Revolutionary Inquiry have neither regarded their knowledge as finished truth nor attempted to establish the ultimate truth. They have said: 'We are now or have still at the beginning of human history, and our knowledge and all current our errors are likely to be far from complete. Our knowledge of us who are in a position to correct, often to improve our knowledge, the errors of our predecessors.'" ("Anti-Dühring," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 125) Engels did not regard this statement as a belief but as a scientific exposition of the scientific materialism. The conclusion is clear: Only if we emancipate our minds along the track of the four basic principles can we insure a high degree of ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, only when we genuinely emancipate our minds and give up our old knowledge can we proceed from reality and better adhere to and develop the four basic principles. Only then can we rapidly build our country into a modern socialist power.

New and old situations and new problems have cropped up from the four modernizations. They will not be easy to tackle if we do not emancipate our minds. All leading cadres and party members must creatively solve problems by following the general truth of Marxism-Leninism and the line, principles and policies formulated by the Central Committee and by taking into consideration the specific conditions of their own districts and units. They must be bold in breaking down the old force of habit and the old views which hinder the development of matters. Otherwise, they will be jumping from one another rather than doing a good job. Lu Xun once compared social transformation to eating crabs. He said: "The first people to eat crabs are to be admired. Who, except brave men, would have dared eat them? If crabs were eaten, spiders must have been eaten, too. However, spiders are not delicious, so people stopped eating them. Such people should be heartily thanked." ("Two Thoughts This Spring," "Selected Works of Lu Xun," Vol 7, p 637) Lu Xun highly commended people who were bold in exploring. He even thought that people who mistakenly ate spiders should be "heartily thanked." This profound idea is still useful for us. We must further emancipate our minds and advocate a fearless spirit when we are striving for modernization. Since the four modernizations are new to us, it is inevitable that we will make mistakes. While blazing new trails and making progress, we should not be afraid of making mistakes. As long as we follow the track of the four basic principles, we will not make serious mistakes in the emancipation of the mind. Emancipating the mind will be more powerful and play a more important role in the four modernizations.

DOGMATISM IS AN ANTI-MARXIST STYLE OF STUDY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 33-36

[Article by Huang Ansen (7806 1344 2773)]

[Text] Article 1--the most basic article--in the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" calls for adherence to the party's political and ideological line. To adhere to the correct political and ideological line we must oppose two erroneous ideological tendencies: One, we must oppose the ossification of the mind and book worship; that is, we must oppose dogmatism. Two, we must oppose and criticize the erroneous viewpoint of repudiating the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and repudiate revisionist trends of thought. On the road of the new Long March toward achieving the four modernizations, each Communist Party member can only fulfill his task and make more contributions to the party and the people if he inherits and carries on our party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with objective reality to study new conditions and solve new problems. Therefore, this article will deal mainly with the question of opposing dogmatism.

1. Dogmatism is a manifestation of idealism. It is an anti-Marxist style of study. Its distinguishing characteristic is the separation of theory and reality and even the transposition of theory and reality. There are two types of dogmatism: One is armchair philosophy--the theoretician only sits and formulates his theories. He never gets in touch with reality. This type of person can only be termed a connoisseur of antiques. Another type is mechanical application or copying. The theoretician has not actually understood the essential spirit of Marxism and does not know the actual conditions in our country. He applies outdated principles to present problems and simply transplants experiences of foreign countries to our country. In short, dogmatism negates the principle that practice is the sole criterion of truth. It also runs counter to the principle of a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. Each conclusion drawn by Marxism is a generalization from concrete history. Without concrete analysis, the essential spirit of Marxism cannot be grasped and Marxist theory cannot be applied to real situations.

Experiences, the experiences of other countries cannot be turned into dogma but to achieve the aim of learning from them. The disruption of the integration of theory with reality inevitably leads to different forms of dogmatism and revision of Marxism. For this reason, Marx and Engels waged an uncompromising struggle against dogmatism during their lifetime. Both men harshly and made scathing criticisms of the pedantry of Kautsky, "the German God" he was "doctrinaire," "an inborn pedant and a scholastic." ("Letter to August Bebel (25 August 1881)," "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 211) When Marx also got angry at his disciple and son-in-law Ludwig's use of "ultra-revolutionary terms" and "flamboyant talk." When Marx and Engels were very pleased when they saw that he had "overcome the dogmatism of academic prophets" and was able to write good and useful articles.

Marxism became a set of dogmas but a guide to action. This was a famous attack that Engels when he criticized the social democrats among the Russian Emigrants in the United States. In his letters to P. A. Sorge and the Russian Social-Democrats he strongly criticized the bad habits of dogmatism and sectarianism. He said: "The Germans never knew how to turn their theory into a lever which can push the American masses forward. Most of them do not know this theory themselves and look at it in a dogmatic and dogmatic way. They think that, as long as they can recite the theory by heart, that will be enough to deal with everything. Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action." ("Letter to P. A. Sorge (1886)," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 211)

Engels often criticized Engels' teaching to educate and guide the members of the Russian Communist Party to closely integrate Marxist theory with the reality of the Russian revolution. Lenin believed that to destroy the unity of theory and reality was tantamount to taking away the soul of Marxism, which leaves Marxism lifeless, partial and distorted. Lenin strongly denounced Karl Kautsky and Otto Bauer, the theoretical authorities of the Second International, pointing out that their "greatest mistake and greatest crime" was that they had not understood that "our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action." ("Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 226)

When criticizing the dogmatists, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To them we should say bluntly, 'Your dogma is worthless.' Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin repeatedly stated that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. But such people prefer to forget this statement, which is of the greatest, indeed of the utmost, importance." ("Rectify the Party's Style of Work") To forget that "our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action" is to forget the fundamental principle of integrating theory with reality and to extract the living soul of a concrete analysis of concrete problems. Then how can one adhere to all the principles of Marxism? It is like a big tree. Once you take away the roots, it is impossible to make the trunk stay strong and sturdy and the leaves grow luxuriantly.

It is also like a man. Once the nervous system is disrupted, it is impossible to maintain the vitality of the body.

The most evident manifestation of dogmatism is book worship. Dogmatists think that everything written in a book is "truth" and is entirely correct. As long as one repeats what the book says, everything can be solved. Therefore, every time they open their mouth they always say, "Let us look at the book." The viewpoint of the "two whatevers" is a typical example of book worship. After the discussions on practice as the sole criterion of truth, the viewpoint of the "two whatevers" became dominant. However, the long-standing, undesirable practice of repeating what the book says and rigid adherence to formalities and conservatism cannot be overcome in a short time. At present, book worship is still reflected among some of our comrades. Its principal manifestation is this attitude: What is written in the book should not be changed; what is not written in the book should not be done; when confronted with new situations and problems, the solution is not arrived at according to the actual conditions, but efforts are made to look for ready-made conclusions in the book; and directives from the higher levels are simply passed upward and downward and not implemented in accordance with the concrete situation. Some cadres have not been liberated from the "yardstick consisting of quotations from Chairman Mao" pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," are content with citing Marxist terminology and do not strive to systematically study Marxist theory and comprehensively grasp the Marxist scientific framework. As a result, their minds are ossified or semi-ossified, and they lack the spirit of boldly blazing new trails. These are all obstacles in our stride forward. We must know that things in the book are dead, but real life is developing, colorful and changing constantly. To cope with shifting events by sticking to an unchanging principle is equivalent to stubbornly sticking to old ways in the face of changed circumstances and taking measures without regard to changes in conditions. We inevitably will suffer setbacks in real life if we do this.

Book worship caused great harm to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. During the time of China's second revolutionary civil war, Wang Ming's book worship caused great losses to the work in the soviet area and the enemy-occupied area. It almost cost us the Chinese revolution. Book worship not only cannot guide the revolution but, under certain conditions, can even become an obstacle to revolution. When criticizing Wang Ming's mistake of book worship, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The method of studying the social sciences exclusively from books is likewise extremely dangerous and may even lead one onto the road of counterrevolution. Clear proof of this is provided by the fact that whole groups of Chinese communists who confined themselves to books in their study of the social sciences have turned into counterrevolutionaries." ("Oppose Book Worship") Germany's Kautsky, Russia's Zinoviev and China's Wang Ming are good examples.

hardness to say, we must read the books of Marx and Lenin and the works of Comrade Mao Zedong. If a communist does not read the books of Marx and Lenin, he does not know the basic principles of Marxism, then he will not be able to integrate the general truth of Marxism with concrete revolutionary practice, study new situations and solve new problems well and push the cause of revolution and construction forward. At present, some comrades, particularly some young comrades, have a muddled idea that Marxism "does not work anymore" and that it is "outdated." Thus, there is no need to seriously study Marxist theory. This idea is thoroughly incorrect. The historical experiences of the international communist movement have shown that the basic principles of Marxism are universally valid. They will not be outdated. In relation to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, it is not Marxism which "does not work anymore." That which "does not work" is dogmatism, that which never "worked" and will never "work." When we oppose dogmatism we do not mean to weaken the study of Marxist theory but to strengthen the study of Marxist theory; we do not mean to memorize certain Marxist terminologies by rote but to internalize and grasp the essential spirit of Marxism better. That is to say, to study Marxist theory we must integrate it with reality. We must be able to draw timely scientific conclusions concerning new changes in the international situation and new conditions in the international communist movement, particularly new problems encountered in our country's socialist construction and guide our actual work by taking the Marxist standpoint and using the Marxist point of view and methods. This is an unshirkable duty of each communist and revolutionary comrade.

Dogmatism can be manifested in the political line in the form of "left" opportunism and right opportunism. All types of opportunist thinking possess qualities of spontaneity and blindness. This is the result of the opportunists' lack of firmness in class stand and lack of real understanding of the objective laws of matter. Only by grasping the Marxist scientific point of view and methods can people raise the level of their consciousness and avoid spontaneity, adventurism and tailism. Opportunists only swallow Marxist terminologies raw and whole. They only become the slaves and victims of spontaneity. When dogmatists give in to the spontaneity of the petty bourgeoisie, they take the road of "left" opportunism; when they compromise with and surrender to the bourgeoisie, they become right opportunists. Dogmatism is an important avenue toward "left" and right opportunism. It can be a symptom of both "left" and right opportunism.

The peculiarity of the revisionists is that they negate the basic principles of Marxism to implement the right opportunist line on the pretext of a change in the times. But when necessary they seize on a few isolated words and phrases of Marx and Engels to camouflage their revisionist activities. This was quite common in the history of the international communist movement. Let us take economism, which is a variation of the revisionism of the Second International in Russia, as an example. Its advocates followed Bernstein in clamoring for the "freedom to criticize"

Marxism, that is, the freedom to revise Marxism. But to validate their opportunist line of engaging only in economic struggle and not in political struggle or opposition to the proletariat's seizure of political power, they went so far as to use the thesis "all class struggles are political struggles" in the "Communist Manifesto" as an argument, trying to reduce proletarian politics to the level of social democracy. Another example is the Russian right opportunists, who are familiar to all of us. They cited the old formula of Marx and Engels regarding the simultaneous triumph of socialism in all civilized countries to oppose Lenin's new theory that socialist revolution can first triumph in one country. After the victory of the October Revolution, they again used this argument to oppose socialist construction in Russia. When criticizing this type of dogmatism, Stalin said: "Of course, if Engels were alive, he would not cling to the old formula. On the contrary, he would heartily welcome our revolution and would say: 'To the devil with all old formulas! Long live the victorious revolution in the Soviet Union!'" ("Reply to the Discussion on the Report on 'The Social Democratic Deviation in Our Party,'" "Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 8, p 271)

However, dogmatism often easily leads to ultraleftist errors. The "leftist" infantile disorder in Britain, Germany, Holland and Italy after the October Revolution and the "left" opportunist line of Wang Ming in China are typical examples of different types of dogmatism. Dogmatism appearing in the form of "leftism" (with the exception of that pushed by capitalists and schemers with ulterior motives) is the manifestation of the revolutionary character of the petty bourgeoisie. This is because the petty bourgeoisie, "who under capitalism always suffer oppression and, frequently, an incredibly acute and rapid deterioration in their conditions and ruin, easily go to revolutionary extremes," easily commit the error of impatience and show the greatest interest for "leftist" revolutionary jargon and slogans. ("'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 188-189) Moreover, they easily commit the mistakes of subjectivism and one-sidedness in their method of thinking. They "do not proceed from an objective and comprehensive picture of the balance of class forces but take subjective wishes, impressions and empty talk for reality, take a single aspect for all aspects, the part for the whole and the tree for the forest." ("Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party") They do not start from the actual conditions in the country but instead mechanically copy the experiences of other countries or ignore the unbalanced development of the revolution and the level of consciousness of the people or generalize on partial and particular experiences, leading to ultraleftist errors. For example, after the victory of the October Revolution some "leftists" in the workers movement in Germany thought that since Russia had established a soviet government the bourgeois parliamentary system had become obsolete. So they refused to participate in the German parliamentary elections and parliamentary struggles, and this divorced them from the broad masses of people. At that time some "leftists" in Germany and Britain called for a withdrawal from the yellow labor unions and put

at your attempt, because the rightist labor union leaders were reactionary and counter-revolutionary. They also insisted that only people who "recognize the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the soviets" could join their movement. This was very childish and ridiculous and was divorced from the situation. During the 10 years of civil war Wang Ming transplanted Stalin's formula on isolating the middle-of-the-road political forces in society to China's revolution and focused the attack on these forces, branding them as the main dangerous enemy. The result of this was that the real enemies were not isolated, and instead we suffered grievously because we isolated our allies.

Looking at the entire history of the international communist movement we can see that all types of dogmatism were anti-Marxist and brought great harm to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. We must resolutely fight dogmatism whenever it emerges and no matter in what form it emerges. Otherwise, the revolutionary cause of the proletariat cannot advance.

Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out: If one is not as good as Marx, one is not a Marxist; if one is equal to Marx, one is not a Marxist. It is only when one is better than Marx that one can become a Marxist. This clearly explained the creative nature of Marxism. Not as good as Marx means self-stagnation. As good as Marx means mechanical application and imitation. It is only through constant improvements on Marxism that we can give expression to the essential spirit of Marxism. Dogmatists and book worshippers do the opposite. They do not look ahead and look for solutions to problems from the ever-progressing real life, but instead look backward and look for answers to questions from readymade formulas and dogmatic rules and counter vigorous, enthusiastic and revolutionary creative spirit with ossification, confinement to rigid formalities, conservatism and stagnation. In this sense, dogmatists and book worshippers constitute a conservative force of habit. They do not like to ask "why" and do not know how to--and are not willing to--undertake independent thinking. Dogmatists and book worshippers are mental lazy-bones. Dogmatism and book worship is a kind of philosophy of the lazy-bones.

Authors of Marxist classics stressed that Marxist theory is a theory of development. They opposed the absolutization and ossification of this theory and the view that it is an unchanging thing. They stressed that "it only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life." ("Our Program," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 203) It is only by persisting in the creative spirit that we can perpetually advance Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; it is only by insisting on the integration of theory and reality and constantly studying new situations and solutions to new problems that we can have creativeness, innovations and development. If the Bolshevik party headed by Lenin had not integrated theory with the revolutionary realities in Russia and various countries in the era of imperialism, there could not have been the victory of the

October Revolution and Leninism; if the CCP members with Comrade Mao Zedong as the exponent had not integrated Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Chinese revolution and the international struggle, there could not have been Mao Zedong Thought. In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "Could the Chinese revolution have been victorious if, after the failure of the great revolution in 1927 and after the Zunyi meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong had not taken stock of the actual conditions and combated book worship and dogmatism but instead had acted according to what was written in the books? Would there ever be such a thing as Mao Zedong Thought today? By the same token, after the overthrow of the 'gang of four,' if the Central Committee of the party had not taken stock of the actual conditions at home and abroad and resolutely opposed the bogus formula of 'acting forever in accordance with the principles laid down,' but had just followed what was written in the books, would it have been possible for us to set things right, carry on the interrupted revolutionary cause and quickly revive and develop the socialist cause pioneered by Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms? How would it have been possible for us to adapt ourselves to the new situation and formulate and carry out policies and measures suited to objective reality and thus steadily push forward the four modernizations?" Under the new historical conditions we will encounter many new problems. For example, how should we persist in and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat at present, how should we persist in and improve the leadership of the party and what concrete methods should we adopt in order to achieve the Chinese model of socialism. Only if we study these problems thoroughly and find good solutions to them can the cause of our socialist revolution and construction take a giant step forward.

The achievement of the four modernizations is an unprecedented great undertaking of our people. This requires that we not dogmatically study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought but grasp this most advanced scientific theory in relation to reality and use it creatively to continuously emancipate the mind, start up the machinery and rectify our ideological line. Only on this basis can we better probe and grasp the objective law of socialist construction and contribute all our energy to the achievement of a Chinese-style socialist four modernizations.

A TALK ON CHARACTERISTICS OF SCIENTIFIC LABOR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 37-40

[Article by Chen Changshu [7115 2490 2562]]

[Text] The labor performed by scientific researchers is an indispensable, important and special part of the labor performed by people in society as a whole. The prerequisite for scientific discoveries and inventions is the material conditions for production; they should be tested and proved through practice in production. As seen from its nature, scientific labor basically remains a part of the mental productive activity. Its major "products" normally include statistical data on experiments, concepts, laws, formulas and design blueprints.

Compared with the labor devoted to material production, scientific labor is exploratory in nature and is performed in a way that requires individuals to fully display their creative spirit in exploring a vast area of the universe. Many unusual contradictions have emerged through the performance of scientific labor. An understanding of its characteristics is significant in that it may help people treat intellectual correctly, so that they can play a more positive role in managing scientific projects well and in training personnel with greater success.

I

Unlike labor devoted to material production, scientific labor is devoted to exploring the unknown, thus giving people a feeling of uncertainty. Although unexpected incidents may also occasionally occur in the process of material production, under normal circumstances it can proceed on schedule. The reason is that in the process of material production people can clearly lay down a plan for achieving their production objective. For example, an industrial enterprise can arrange its production according to its planned target, carry out its construction in accordance with a blueprint and inspect and test its products according to its regulations. Scientific labor is also geared to serve the needs of practice. Under the guidance of a correct theory, it, too, can produce certain results as expected. But the main task of scientific research is to explore the

unknown, where the outcome is uncertain. In other words, people usually cannot precisely anticipate what kinds of discoveries or inventions will await them. Nor can they guarantee that their projected exploration will lead to success. If everything could be anticipated, there would be no need for scientific exploration. As the nature of scientific research varies from project to project, so do the width and breadth of scientific exploration. Comparatively speaking, a project aimed at studying the laws of nature usually calls for a greater exploratory effort than an endeavor to achieve technical inventions or innovations which call for the application of the laws of nature. Despite this fact, technical innovations, including the trial-manufacturing of new products, remain an exploratory process. A well-defined objective of material production cannot be achieved without going through a process of repeated thinking and deliberations, experiments and probing. In conducting research into the possibility of designing a giant engineering project we must take into account the effect that the given natural factors and conditions may have on it and must study many related problems which involve countless unknown factors. Resolution of these problems calls for a series of extremely difficult and complex explorations. Only in this way can we come up with a technically sound design and the best construction formula.

As more and more scientific theories have come of age, scientists can now foresee discoveries and inventions in the distant future, thus proportionally reducing the feeling of uncertainty about the role that science can play in the days ahead. For example, people dedicated to modern scientific research can now forecast more accurately than ever before how much they can achieve during a given period of time. They have also used such appraisals as a basis for designing and building the necessary laboratory equipment with which they can achieve their intended objective. Clearly, no one would have spent a large amount of money on building giant accelerators if the scientists were uncertain as to what role this type of laboratory equipment could play in physics. On the other hand, even the most outstanding accelerator designers and high-energy physicists cannot guarantee that this new laboratory equipment will eventually lead to new discoveries, although they are certain of the physical phenomena it can produce. It is also quite likely that certain new experimental devices will never lead to any new discoveries.

This nature of scientific labor clearly has complicated the plan for organizing the management of scientific labor. There should be some plans for organizing the management of scientific labor. It is necessary, however, to employ scientific labor in a well-planned manner so that it can produce some definite results. To make scientific researchers move in a correct direction, it is also essential to reasonably allocate manpower, material and financial resources and to work out a general plan for overseeing and inspecting the implementation of research projects.

At the same time, the proposed management of scientific labor should be provided a leeway for maneuver. It must be pointed out that scientific labor is not necessarily productive at all times. Such failure should be tolerated. We may encounter frustrations in our scientific explorations and should not condemn such frustrations as the consequence of deviation from the objective of our scientific research. In the event of failure, those who perform scientific labor should draw a lesson from it by giving up their old theorems and finding new ones and by working out sounder formulas in place of the erroneous ones. This is an inevitable road every scientific worker should adhere to. Scientific history has been marked by failures in experimentation with "heat element" and "fuel element." These explorations that have failed are in a sense also a contribution to the development of science. As scientific managers we can make research progress as rapidly as possible, but we cannot promise a date for its successful conclusion. Nor can we set, without leeway, a deadline for completing certain large-scale exploratory projects. Furthermore, prompt efforts must be made to revise or expand the scientific research projects whenever such needs arise from their implementation. Even those well-planned exploratory scientific projects may unavoidably encounter some unexpected problems, which will induce people to produce fresh ideas, or chart a new course for the research project, or even replace the originally scheduled research project with new ones. In addition, we must also attach great importance and pay attention to unprojected scientific activities. Facts show that many important discoveries and inventions in history were not the products of any originally planned projects but the results of certain unrelated scientific activities which were inter-listed as part of the original projects. If we concentrate only on the projected research and fail to search for and support other valuable scientific activities, we will run the risk of putting down the scope of scientific labor, stifling the atmosphere of liveliness and eventually slowing down progress in science. In short, the proposed management of scientific labor should be organized in accordance with the laws governing the development of science itself, as distinguished from the planned management of material production; it should take an exploratory attitude toward everything, rather than do everything in accordance with regulations. It is unwise to manage scientific projects by means of administrative orders.

II

Another characteristic of scientific labor is that everyone works on his own. For example, one must read documents, observe, analyze and calculate everything in one's own way; one must think independently and come up with one's own views, suggestions and formulas. The modern machine-building process is a mode of production that requires people to work collectively in every possible way. Scientific discoveries and inventions are essentially products of collective cooperation. Marx once pointed out: Scientific research is "a form of labor which requires cooperation by modern men and utilization of the fruits of labor

performed by their predecessors." ("Das Kapital," "Collected Works of Karl Marx," Vol 25, p 120) Yet this cooperation in scientific research differs from the direct collective cooperation in material production; it does not take place in a way that requires many people to work together simultaneously; it calls for efforts by individuals or a few scientific inventors to make new contributions on the basis of their predecessors' achievements. At the same time, scientific research is a form of labor performed by individuals. New scientific laws and new technologies were often first discovered or invented by a few persons and then endorsed and applied by the majority of people. Because labor is performed in a different way and for different purposes, the results of the mental productive activity are often inscribed with persons' names, while the finished products of the process of material production are not branded with such names. For example, scientific essays or works must be accompanied by their writers' names; cash awards or technical patents have been presented to individual inventors; scientific laws, principles and theorems are often named after their creators.

Before the 19th century, scientific labor was performed by individuals. At that time the scientific discoveries and technical inventions were basically products of independent research conducted by individual scholars or technicians; scientific research was conducted on a small scale with simple instrumentation. From the mid-19th century to date, scientific research has been concentrated in various research institutes, industrial laboratories and institutions of higher learning; the theme of scientific exploration has become more varied and complicated than ever, while scientific discoveries and inventions require the participation of a large number of interdisciplinary scientists. In these circumstances, direct cooperation that calls for the employment of collective labor in the scientific field has become one of the requirements for carrying out the mental productive activity.

The ways in which scientific labor is performed are often restricted, depending on the social conditions. In capitalist society the bourgeoisie has constantly tightened its control over scientific workers and scientific activities in an effort to meet the needs of its economic competition and military buildup. "Competition gave way to monopolization after capitalism reached the stage of imperialism. Consequently, the socialization of production has taken a giant step forward. Also socialized is the process of technical invention and improvement." ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 748) Since socialism freed scientific labor from the shackles of the capitalist system of private ownership, scientific research can now be reasonably organized and adapted to the needs of society, thus broadening the prospect of cooperation among scientific workers and providing a better opportunity for every collective of researchers to demonstrate its superiority.

Despite this fact, individual initiative is still needed to carry out various aspects of the large-scale scientific activity. True, division of labor and coordination are essential to any collective effort to carry out comprehensive experimentation and every applied scientific research project. No one working for such a well-organized project can go his own righteous way. However, there is a clear difference between the collective efforts to produce the existing types of computers and to develop a new generation of computers. In the fixed process of production, products can be assembled from various parts or components made by many individual workers. When scientific labor is performed by members of a collective in coordination with each other, they are required to assume a joint share of responsibility and fulfill their respective assignments in conjunction with the common objective and needs of their collective. Despite this fact, their activities are not entirely identical, and as individuals they are still required to research independently and to fulfill their respective assignments in their own ways. Eventually, the assembly of achievements by individual researchers marks an end to a process of mental productive labor. In this connection, the role played by the organizers and directors of the scientific labor emulation drive, including program directors, chief designers and chief engineers, is very important. Even greater individual initiative is needed to conduct research in modern mathematics and basic sciences and to carry out other theoretical studies in science and technology. When a research project is concluded, every individual participant must first offer his own creative views. The writing and compilation of a work on scientific theory has nothing in common with the teamwork performed by a group of workers attending to a steel furnace. Even upon the completion of this collective compilation work, which results from thorough research and discussion, it still can be tainted with individual biases and prejudices left by scholars of different persuasions. When this occurs, its chief editor should make proper adjustments to the entire project.

How to correctly handle the relationship between the individual and collective characters of scientific labor is an important problem that needs to be solved by those in charge of scientific management. Collective cooperation must be organized properly in response to the different demands for research. For example, academic exchanges should take place among scholars of different shades with the aim of establishing an interdisciplinary research group which will concentrate its efforts on solving complicated problems. At present our efforts in this direction remain inadequate. A case in point: I witnessed a few individuals working independently on some research projects that could have been concluded with greater success if they had worked together as a team; although an organization or agency in charge of scientific coordination exists, its members have been working in their own righteous ways, because they are not interested in academic and ideological exchanges, which represent the first step toward collective cooperation; many scientific and technical research projects have begun with coordination but ended with disputes over how to line up the names of their participants.

... need different conditions of realization. ... Coordination in scientific work is a collective activity. ... Individualism ... the importance of the ... the growing ... scientific activity. ... individual activities, ... every successful project in one's hands ... the labor performed by ... in scientific ... and overcome the ... the collective interests.

While doing a good job of organizing the necessary coordination in scientific research, we must attach importance to the special role played by individuals. Without inventions by individuals, any form of coordination will not reap rich fruits. The individual spirit that is apparent in scientific labor should not give way to the assertion of mechanical equalitarianism and uniformity in the mental productive field. Under the impact of the growing desire for strengthening the collective spirit in scientific labor, we must concentrate on overcoming the trend to disregard coordination on the one hand and avoid overemphasizing the spirit of uniformity in disregard of individuality on the other. Some individuals must be honored and awarded for their outstanding contributions to scientific research; people must be encouraged to write and publish works in their own names, to advance their theories and to express their constructive opinions. In short, it is necessary to stimulate the collective spirit of scientific labor and to encourage scientific researchers to work hard, but no rigid and formalistic collective measures should be adopted to restrict scientific labor.

III

Scientific labor is also characterized by a desire to establish an environment in which the creative spirit can be brought into full play.

Scientific labor is closely connected with creative working spirit. Creative spirit is also called the spirit of material production. Under normal conditions, the creative spirit of workers is always applied repeatedly in order to produce goods. In scientific research, the creative spirit can be produced without material production. The creative spirit must also be used repeatedly as it is applied to the field of knowledge of the highest quality, or the "No. 1 product" of mental labor. It is worthy of the name of a new discovery if it is new to the world. It is not enough to be regarded as what others have known. It is a condition of the creative spirit that it is applied to the process of discovery. The creative spirit is the driving force of scientific research. It is the source of new ideas and new inventions and for achievements.

...labor is devoted to creating new
...must include not only a
...which embodies an
...Scientific labor is devoted pri-
...new perspectives. Such
...conditions in which labor can be

...labor can be freely performed in the
...In class society, however, much of the
...is performed under the influence of
...deprived of freedom; mental product-
...For example, the great majority of
...in capitalist society are hired
...cannot pursue their research. Nor can they
...On the other hand, labor devoted to
...under duress, because no one
...under the threat of sticks
...and inventions result from inde-
...taken by scientific workers. In that
...free labor.

...creative spirit of science and place
...service of socialist construction and prac-
...regulations on scientific
...that the scientific activities are moving in
...that the scientific strategy and plans are in
...the development of science and are appro-
...At the same time, we must also
...for those dedicated to scientific research.
...should be permitted to freely select the subjects of
...within the framework of related regulations and should
...freedom of association. Those who do so should not be accused
...How can people make con-
...in scientific research? Academicians
...to launch full discussions and
...It is unwise to apply political standards in
...of scientific views. Nor is it
...to settle any academic issue by arbi-
...that from the outset some scientific dis-
...be accepted by the great majority
...as heresies. For this reason,
...cannot be
...for seeking scientific truth. Most scientific prob-
...over the correctness or incorrectness of certain
...would be judged and resolved by scientific workers them-
...through scientific practice.

Management of scientific labor is free labor does not imply that the party's leadership need scientific work can be weakened or abolished. Nor does it imply that scientific management and all related restrictions are not necessary. On the contrary, we should strengthen and improve the party's leadership and scientific management as a measure to encourage scientific invention and to inspire independent thinking and free academic discussion. The reason is that scientific freedom may yield space to the growing influence of primitive forces, material conditions and subjective factors. For this reason, scientific workers must be inspired to balance their personal interests with the needs of the state and to conduct their research in such a way as to best serve the drive for the realization of the four modernizations. The assumption that the clock has gone for every scientific worker to do whatever he wishes and that everyone can now enjoy the freedom to select his own profession is incorrect and unrealistic.

Scientific workers do need freedom, but not a free journey into wild flights of fancy. They must build their research on a solid basis and use the correct world outlook and methodology as a guide to scientific exploration. They should conscientiously study dialectical materialism and historical materialism, apply the theory of scientific knowledge and methodology to analyze and absorb the major philosophical thinking of scientists throughout history, and conscientiously sum up experiences and lessons in the development of science and technology. Only in this way can we strive for still greater success in scientific research. Otherwise, major inventions or contributions cannot be expected of scientific workers.

The management of scientific labor is a more complex operation which involves strategic principles as well as more specific measures. While promoting daily activities well, we must study a strategy that takes into account overall interests. Our management of science requires a strategic vision, a strategic arrangement and a strategic guiding principle. To meet this requirement we must understand the history of science and technology and their current development and get to know the laws governing the development of science and technology and the nature of scientific labor. Only in this way can we apply scientific methods to manage science well.

DO WE UNDERSTAND THAT LITERARY AND ART WORKS ARE ON A HIGHER PLANE THAN
SOCIAL LIFE

WANG YING AND FANG In Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 41-42

LIBRARY NO BY Wang Haiqiao [3076 3189 2884]

First, I find that the article entitled "Some Questions Concerning
'Thinking About Facts'" is pretty good; it corrected the theory on
"thinking about facts." However, there are points which are open to
question. For instance, the author feels that a concrete piece of lit-
erary work must not be on a higher plane than social life, while litera-
ture as a whole, reflecting life, may be. Expounding this point by
citing E. Potie's song and Gorky's novel "Mother" as proof, the author
writes: "If we refuse to recognize the fact that the works of E. Potie and
Gorky are on a higher plane than the social life of their times, does
it mean that we may say that, compared with the everyday real life in
which the proletariat found itself, their works were on the same, or even
a lower, plane?" The illustrations themselves are above criticism, except
that the thesis and the argument cannot be reconciled. What the argument
proved is that concrete works may be on a higher plane than the social
life of the era as a whole, thus conflicting with the thesis that a con-
crete piece of literary work may not be on a higher plane than the social
life as a whole. Naturally, it also deviates from the theory that only
literature as a whole may be on a higher plane than social life as a
whole.

Secondly, the thesis of the article itself requires deliberation. In
reflecting life, literature has its characteristics and laws. Any piece
of literary work can only portray one aspect or part of social life, or
one moment in life. Compared with literature, life has incomparably
wide and rich content, and no literary work can be all-inclusive. This
is something which anyone can understand. Therefore, if we ask lit-
erary works to reflect the entire social life quantitatively without the
inevitable omission, it will only indicate complete ignorance of the
characteristics and laws of literature. Then, how do literary works
reflect the entire social life? Here we have the issue of the relation-
ship between the finite and the infinite, between the part and the whole,

works created by Balzac originated from life yet were higher than life,
not just part of life, but life as a whole.

One must admit that to create literary works on a higher plane than life
as a whole is very difficult; the writer must have a high degree of
intellectual and artistic accomplishment and a complete and profound
understanding of life. Actually, many writers are unable to do so
completely. In fact, if a writer can successfully reflect in his writing
one aspect, one part or one moment of life, he must be affirmed. We also
think that it is even more difficult to create in short pieces, such as
short stories, typical figures on a higher plane, in depth and range, than
life as a whole. However, if we say that, to begin with, we must not ask
a literary work to reflect life in its entirety and to be on a higher
plane, this will be too absolute.

WANG
JIAN - 2016

CLASSICAL MARXIST WRITERS ADVOCATE 'DEPICTING THE TRUTH'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 pp 42-43

[Article by Zhou Zhonghou [0719 1813 0624]]

[Text] "Depicting the truth" is a basic demand of classical Marxist writers on literature and art. Engels' famous remark in his letter to M. Harkness was originally translated as follows: "In my view, the meaning of realism is that, besides truthfulness in details, typical figures in a typical environment must be truthfully reproduced." The letter was written in English, and the word "truth" is a noun, not an adjective. I feel that the second part of the sentence should be translated as follows: "The truth of typical figures in a typical environment must be reproduced." The words "reproduce" and "truth" used by Engels can be interpreted as depicting the truth. In the 1930's, when the Soviet Union liquidated the erroneous theory of the Rapp faction, Stalin proposed the slogan of "depicting the truth." In 1932, at the literary soiree in Gorkiy's house, Stalin urged "depicting the truth." ("Stalin and Soviet Literature," New Literature Publishing House, 1954 edition) He then said: "Let the writer learn in life! If he can reflect the truth of life with a high degree of artistic form, he will attain Marxism." ("Collection of Reports at the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (B)," Communist Party Publishing Bureau, 1934 edition, p 624) Comrade Mao Zedong also proposed the requirement of truthfulness in literature in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art."

The Marxist theory on literature and art may set many requirements for socialist literature and art, but "depicting the truth" is a fundamental one. As Gorkiy aptly put it, literature is "built on truth, and the demand on all aspects connected with it is truth"; it is "a sort of undertaking which is only great because of its truthfulness." ("Correspondence on Literature," Vol 1, pp 217, 242) The Marxist requirement of "depicting the truth" is not just the truthfulness of the details and the part, but also that of the typical figures in a typical environment and of the entire society. Without truthfulness, typicalness will have no foundation, and imagery will have no meaning. "Some Questions

Commenting "Writing About Facts" (RED FLAG No 4, 1980) states: "We advocate writing stressing the truthfulness of literature, but we do not advocate the slogan 'depicting the truth.'" I feel that this view is contradictory in itself. There can only be truthfulness in truthful literary works.

This article feels that the slogan "depicting the truth" fails to embody the demand on literary and artistic creations to reflect the essence of social life. Actually, this is not so. Balzac's works, which were praised by Marx and Engels, and Tolstoy's works, which were admired by Lenin, all demonstrated political and social truths. Comrade Zhou Enlai also spoke "the lively expression of the most essential things in the most vivid forms," ("Zhou Enlai on Literature and Art," p 116). Thus, the truthfulness of literature and art must be the truthfulness of the essence. The opposition of certain comrades to depicting the essence of life is improper, because the truth cannot be depicted if the essence is not reflected. But to oppose "depicting the truth" for this reason is also wrong.

Will violating the truth make it impossible to express the ideal? This is not so either. The Marxist theory of "depicting the truth" includes depicting the ideal. We feel that the ideal in literature must possess a realistic character. It may exist in reality or it may be an inevitable product in the development of the true relationship in reality. As regards the proletarian writers, although some of them have not depicted the ideal, we must not reprimand them for "violating the requirement of realism for truthfulness in literature." Writers like Balzac did not depict the ideal in accordance with the direction of development of human society, but we cannot say that he violated the demand of "depicting the truth" or the "requirement of realism for truthfulness in literature." Otherwise, how could a writer who violated the requirement of realism for truthfulness in literature have become a great realist writer? Naturally, as regards today's proletarian writers, the Marxist requirement of "depicting the truth" includes depicting the ideal. Stalin first unequivocally proposed the slogan of "depicting the truth" and made it the key content of socialist realism. The definition of socialist realism formulated with this participation includes educating the laboring people with the socialist spirit, thereby molding man's soul with the revolutionary ideal. The "Red Girl" depicts the ideal of the courageous struggles waged by Jiang Xueqin and Xu Yunfeng for a socialist new China, and "The History of Suncestring an Undertaking" portrays the ideals of such socialist leaders as Jiang Xueqin. The ideals of such proletarian heroic figures are also truthful.

The author of "Some Questions" blames "writing about facts" for certain problems in literature today. Actually, the problems in today's literary and artistic theories and creative practice are not a result of "depicting the truth"; on the contrary, they are the result of failing to understand and implement properly the Marxist stand on "depicting the truth." The

author says that some writers "unanalytically portray ugliness and cruelty, seek the sensational, the bizarre..." Actually, such defects are not a result of depicting the truth, because this kind of writing cannot depict the truth of typical figures in a typical environment or that of the entire society, and it may even fail to depict the truth of the details and the part. Depicting only life's minutiae naturally will not attain artistic truth, while the unanalytical portrayal of ugliness and cruelty may even distort the truth. Depicting the unhealthy phenomena in social life with melancholy and pessimistic sentiments, or revealing and exaggerating such ugly criminal acts as murder, theft and swindle in such plain and naked style, as to produce pessimistic and negative conclusions in the readers, is incompatible with both the truth of the entire society and that of typical figures in a typical environment. Therefore, the cause of the problems in today's literary and artistic creations is not in depicting the truth but, on the contrary, in failing to do so.

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LOOK SQUARELY AT THE PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS POSED BY MODERN NATURAL SCIENCES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 p 49

[Excerpts from article by Zhang Weimin [1728 0251 3046] and Gao Xinghua [7559 5281 5478] in SICHUAN RIBAO 1 January 1980]

[Text] Engels pointed out: "With every epochal discovery in the realm of natural sciences, materialism will also inevitably change its own form." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 224) Modern natural sciences pose a series of momentous philosophical issues which involve the entire content and structure of the philosophical system. Some issues possess a clear philosophical flavor, while others are themselves philosophical problems.

In the realm of materialism: Lenin's definition of material was built on the level of the natural sciences of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Modern natural sciences have advanced from understanding the essence of the concepts of mass and energy to the essential stage of understanding the essence of the concept of information. This inevitably will lead to a leap in the materialistic concept. We must launch the study of information. What is the essence of information? Is it materialistic or spiritual, or a third category beyond the materialistic and the spiritual? What is its relationship to spirit and consciousness?

In the realm of materialist dialectics: In "Natural Dialectics" Engels clearly pointed out that the contradictory sides of the magnet lie in the simultaneous presence of the north and south poles. However, in the 1970's scientists discovered a case which possibly indicates a "magnetic monopole" having only one pole, not two. Thus emerged such new problems as how to analyze and interpret it with the law of the unity of opposites. The Marxist philosophy only made qualitative descriptions of the laws of quantitative and qualitative changes. In recent years the "abrupt change theory" emerged in the field of mathematics. This theory, by means of a series of mathematical models, explains and predicts the process of discontinuous changes in the realms of natural and social sciences. Possibly such mathematical theory is not just qualitative, but furnishes the model

and method for the quantitative study of the law of quantitative and qualitative changes.

In the realm of epistemology, mechanical thought or intellectual imitation has always been a momentous philosophical issue. The development of modern natural sciences has raised man's capacity of understanding to a new height. Besides the direct perceptual activities by means of eyes, ears, nose and tongue, we now have large numbers of instruments which provide sensing abilities far beyond those of the sensory organs of the human body and greatly enrich and develop man's capacity to understand the objective material world. When we observe an object with instruments, what is the relationship between the subject and the object? Is there an interaction between the subjective and the objective? What are the position and effect of the subjective factor?

The development of modern natural sciences and technology urgently requires our philosophy workers to study more modern natural sciences, understand more the philosophical issues in natural sciences and form a fighting alliance with the natural and social scientists. Only thus will it be possible to correctly meet the new challenges of modern natural sciences and enrich and develop the Marxist philosophical system.

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TENDING THE DUCKS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 80 outside back cover

[Woodcut by Dong Qizhong [5576 0366 0022]]



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